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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1594

EAST

EUROPE

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10 October 1978

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUPPORTER OF ROMANIAN CONTROL OF TRANSYLVANIA EULOGIZED

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian No 7, Jul 78 pp 23-25

/Article by Radu Pantazi: "D. Draghicescu - A Plea for Unification"<sup>7</sup>

/Text<sup>7</sup> "If physically we are flesh and blood from the flesh and blood of our parents, then spiritually speaking we are the souls of the soul of the country and our people, a small measure springing from the treasure of truths, traditions and customs that make up the soul of the country. The country is parents that will never die. While parents die, regardless of what we do for them, the country is like parents that are virtually eternal and eternally outlast us, to the degree in which we and the future generations sacrifice our lives for it."

These are several lines from a brochure, modest in size, but substantial in its content, that appeared under the title "Intelesul jertfei pentru Patrie. Lamuriri pentru cei ce vor fi chemati sa se jertfeasca patriei" /The Meaning of Sacrificing for the Country. Clarifications for Those Persons Who Will Be Asked To Sacrifice for the Country<sup>7</sup> in 1916, the year Romania entered the first world war. The author: Dumitru Draghicescu. A name well-known at the time and one that was to have greater impact at a later date in the field of Romanian thought and domestic and international political affairs, without official recognition equal to his contribution to the prestige of our culture.

A Firm Belief in Man

Born in 1875, in the town of Zavoieni (today, Maciuca) in Vilcea County, Draghicescu completed his high school studies in Craiova and his university program in Bucharest (where he listened to Titu Maiorescu, C. Dumitrescu-Iasi and C. Radulescu-Motru), completing his doctoral studies under the guidance of E. Durkheim at the Sorbonne. His doctoral thesis, "Du role de l'individu dans le determinisme social," published in 1904 in Paris, was highly praised in France, Germany and Italy.

Young Draghicescu's stay in the capital of France was marked by a close friendship with two other young people who were to become important figures on the Romanian political scene: I. G. Duca and Nicolae Titulescu. With these two, he shared his thoughts and future projects referring to the progress of the country, the creation of a more just world and the establishment of certain relations of cooperation and respect between nations. Although later in their lives their paths were to take different directions, in the sense that Draghicescu was to dedicate himself more to the study of philosophy and sociology and the others were to follow political careers, they were to interact in certain areas. Thus, alongside I. G. Duca, N. Titulescu and other pioneers of Romanian public life, he was to take a strong position against the Iron Guards and Hitlerism and, later, against the death of I. G. Duca at the hands of the Legionnaires.

After the publication of his doctoral thesis, a series of works<sup>1</sup> vigorously marked Draghicescu as a profound and original thinker.

Through his writings, he professed a visionary social and political philosophy based upon a belief in the perfectability of the human being, in the possibilities of science and technology to improve and even extend, to eternity, the life of the human species and in the ability of this species to organize its social and political relations in a world of peace and cooperation between individuals and people. His works paint a picture of a thinker closely tied to the realities of his time, of a lucid political man who, without overstepping the limits of a radical bourgeois concept, stood on very advanced positions in the interpretation of economic, social and political affairs.

In his works, he maintained, with just and logical arguments taken from history, the vital, imperative necessity of achieving national and state unity for the Romanian people. In a series of works, including "La Transylvanie. Esquisse historiques géographique, ethnographique et statistique," with a preface by the renown French philosopher Emile Boutroux, Draghicescu especially concentrated upon the problems regarding Transylvania, giving the appropriate attention to all the territories inhabited by an overwhelming majority of Romanians, territories whose populations had legitimately requested reunification with Romania in 1918. There was in this work an older concern since, in 1905, he had published in CONTEMPORARY REVIEW in London the article "Viitorul popoarelor in Ungaria" The Future of the People in Hungary<sup>7</sup>, representing an energetic protest against the ideas of Count A. Apponyi, who had maintained that at that time there was in Hungary only a single nation, the Hungarian nation, brutally ignoring the existence of Romanians, Czechs and Serbs.



In this thinker's insistent plea for Greater Unification, a series of ideas demand attention through their realist, patriotic and humanitarian character.

Of note, first of all, is the correct evaluation that Draghicescu made regarding Romania's participation in the first world war. It was a participation determined by the noble cause of liberating Romania from foreign domination and not, as the author incisively wrote, "for the puerile imperialist purposes as some allied circles frequently leave it to be very incorrectly understood."

Draghicescu analyzed the problem in light of two essential principles which, he justly considered, resulted from the course and consequences of the war: the people's right of self-determination and the right of de-annexation. Romanian claims to Transylvania and other territories taken from Romania during different moments in history are justified from both points of view.

In the spirit of the best traditions of Romanian democratic thought, in addition to having a socialist echo, this Romanian thinker felt that "that which today constitutes the basis for persecution and national claims, as in the era of religious problems, is the eternal problem of the exploitation of man by man," and so he wrote.

In the United Country

It is of note that Draghicescu maintained, as did Balcescu and Kogalniceanu earlier, that initially the Romanian Transylvanian peasant was also free, but was gradually reduced to the state of slavery, which, in Hungary, "was practiced in a more abominable manner than anywhere in Western Europe." Such a state of affairs could not be accepted by those who had been subjugated, a fact proven, the author stressed, by the great uprisings and wars of a national and social nature.

The target of Draghicescu's vehement and documented protest against national oppression was the Hungarian aristocracy and Habsburgian militarism. We still have his words: "As long as the Hungarian oligarchy rules Transylvania, as well as the other provinces of Austro-Hungary, Austro-Hungarian militarism will have to be powerful enough to provide the rulers from Budapest to Vienna the supremacy and economic exploitation of the subjugated nationalities." From this point, he also rejected the solution, which had been circulating in certain circles, regarding the autonomy of Transylvania, pointing out that this would basically mean the maintenance of a status quo, since this would mean

maintaining the "economic chains" for the Romanian population and the exploitation of man by man. At the same time, noted Draghicescu, this would be the same as an action "against socialism and for the profit of the Hungarian oligarchy."

The socialist principles brought to light, in Draghicescu's concept of a broad humanitarian view, the right of people to fight for the defense and development of their national existence. With regards to Transylvania, Draghicescu expressed his hope that its unification with Romania would resolve the secular conflict, "the national and social conflict alike," because, in the splendid anticipation of the realities of socialist Romania, in the united country there would be an end to the national oppression of the majority of the population by a minority and, at the same time, Romania "would grant real freedom and broad autonomy to the non-Romanian minorities."

It is an idea that reminds us, in nearly identical terms, of an idea put forth by Simion Barnutiu, who emphasized more than 50 years earlier, that in a sovereign and independent unified Romanian national state the national minorities would be treated like "members of the national body." It is an idea that characteristically outlines all progressive Romanian thought. It is an idea that has its living embodiment in contemporary Romania.

The conclusion, as a matter of fact also the origin of Draghicescu's arguments, is clear: the purpose of our country's participation in the war was the unification of Transylvania with Romania. In evoking the sacrifices of the Romanian people on the battle field, as well as those behind the front lines, sacrifices whose necessity had been evaluated at the beginning of the war as fruitful for the survival of the country and which, in 1918, were considered as being a new and shining example of the vital force of the Romanians, Draghicescu pointed out with good reason that the unification of Transylvania with Romania means an "act of right, in conformance with the historical right and the right of the people to decide alone their fate" and, at the same time, "the sole equitable recognition" of Romania's remarkable contribution to the victory over the Central Powers.

Written with clarity, but also with patriotic pathos, filled with the rigors of the scientific spirit, but also with a generous humanitarian vision and known both in official circles and in the broadest circles of European public opinion, especially in France, D. Draghicescu's works from the period 1916-1918 are part of a high point of this plea, equally insistent and well supported, for the idea which, springing from our entire history and representing a vital desire of our people, brought into being through

ardent struggles, had ennobled the spirits and stimulated the energies of all the fighters for its realization: the Great Unification.

### The Patriot Intellectual

Draghicescu also made an important contribution to the cause of Unification through his activities in the international fora in Paris and London.

- In December 1916, the newly created government after the withdrawal of the army from Moldova, asked D. Draghicescu to go to Paris to inform the Allies of the difficult conditions in which Romania was and to defend the national rights of the Romanians.

The Romanian patriot's trip, in 1917, from Romania to Paris, was made through Russia, where he also assisted in the revolutionary events that were in full swing there. In Paris, at the end of 1917, he established, together with Traian Vuia, the Romanian National Committee and the magazine LA TRANSYLVANIE. The purpose of this was to make known abroad the desires of the Romanian people, especially their aspirations regarding the formation of a unified national state. In the capital of France, he made contact with the representatives of the Czechs and Poles who, like the Romanians, were carrying out a united effort in their struggle for national claims, meeting with them in periodical sessions and attracting to their side different political figures. Thus, in April 1918, a Congress of Oppressed Nationalities from Austro-Hungary was organized in Rome. At this congress, recognition of the Romanian people's right of self-determination and completion of their political unity was granted by the representatives of the European powers that were part of the Entente.

- In 1921, D. Draghicescu was one of the intellectuals who protested against the arrest of communists participating in the Congress of May 1921<sup>2</sup>, pointing out that "the arrest of the communists is an act that has nothing in common with the laws of the country or good sense. It is an abuse, an act of premeditated impluse."
- Similarly, he supported in the press the right of all citizens to vote, including women. Later (1934-1936), of note were his activities in Mexico as minister plenipotentiary, as well as his participation in some of the meetings of the League of Nations.

During the second world war, D. Draghicescu was decisively against the Vienna Dictat and the barbaric activities carried out by the Legionnaires. Prior to his unexpected death, in September 1945, he was a member of the Social-Democrat Party.

Draghicescu's political and diplomatic activities, although reduced in accordance with the scope of his political ability, represented an important contribution in the affirmation of the rights of the Romanian people on an international level.

In the future, we will publish several parts from D. Draghicescu's article "Un episod din lupta noastra nationala din razboiul trecut" /An Episode from Our National Struggle During the Past War/, which appeared in 1944 in the magazine PAMINTUL ROMANESC and in which he describes the 1917 creation of the Romanian National Committee in Paris and the organization and his participation at the Congress of Rome in April 1918.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In chronological order, here are the more important ones: "Raporturile dintre drept si sociologie: Stiinta si practica sociala" /The Relations Between Law and Sociology: Science and Social Practice/ (both appeared in Bucharest in 1904); "Le probleme de la conscience," Paris, in 1907; In the same year, in Bucharest, "Din psihologia poporului roman" /From the Psychology of the Romanian People/. Later: "L'ideal createur," Paris, 1914, and "Le renouveau religieux et la guerre mondiale," Bucharest; After the war, the following were to be published: "Partide politice si clase sociale" /Political Parties and Social Classes/, Bucharest, 1922; "Reforma electorala" /Electoral Reform/, Bucharest, 1925; "La realite de l'esprit," Paris, 1928; "La nouvelle cite de Dieu," Paris, 1929; "Verite et revelation," in two volumes, Paris, 1934; "America y la Liga de las Naciones," Mexico, 1937, and so forth.
2. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 5/1971, 5/1976.

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## ALBANIA

### LACK OF PROLETARIAN DISCIPLINE HURTS PRODUCTIVITY

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian May 78 pp 18-30

[Article by Qimo Kocani: "The Enforcement of Proletarian Discipline at Work an Important Factor in the Performance of Tasks"]

[Text] Our country's workers, armed with the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, are aware of the great job they have to do in order to achieve and exceed the objectives set by the Seventh Party Congress for the country's economic and social development. The fulfillment of these objectives, as was also stressed at the Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, is linked with the enforcement of a conscientious discipline at work in general, and on the part of every worker at his own place of work in particular.

The need to enforce proletarian discipline is closely tied to the demands for an uninterrupted strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the understanding and application of its norms, rules and laws incarnated in the party line on the construction of socialism and communism. It stems from socialist ownership of the means of production, from the socialist relationships between men, from the socialist division of labor, from the principles of democratic centralism, on the basis of which our socialist order is built and is being developed; and from the planned and proportional development of the economy. Experience shows that the farther we advance on the road to the full construction of the socialist society, the greater are the demands for a conscientious and strict discipline. This is because the tasks are also growing, not only in the field of the development of the productive forces, but also because socialist relationships as a whole are being perfected and must be perfected on the road to the full construction of the socialist society.

Socialism as a social order creates such possibilities and conditions as to insure a high and perfected organization of labor, a higher labor productivity than under capitalism. This is grounded both on the application of advanced technology in production and in all branches of the economy, as well as in the free and conscientious labor of the workers, in their most conscientious participation in the development and promotion

of social production and in the continual rise in the cultural and technical level of the masses. As a consequence, alien manifestations and attitudes, such as the tendency to seek "easy" and "choice" jobs, to give society less and take from it more than one is entitled to, and to chase after quantity to the detriment of quality of labor and production, and so on, are becoming more and more unacceptable in the attitude of people to labor as well.

With the development of social production there is an ever increasing rise in the demands for a broader cooperation between the various branches of the economy, the enterprises and the various units. The precise performance of the tasks deriving from that cooperation requires a high degree of discipline, as otherwise there would be harmful consequences to the harmonious development of the economy. Under the conditions of the fierce imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement and the pressure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, the strengthening of proletarian discipline is becoming still more urgent. Our country, as the party emphasizes, is building socialism "like an encircled detachment," and the main condition for resisting the encirclement is discipline. Without steellike discipline in the execution of the tasks assigned to each work detachment and to every individual the encirclement situation cannot be confronted as it should be.

The party has pointed out that the strengthening of conscientious discipline is a long process of struggle and effort in the area of ideology, organization, the laws, tradition, administration, the mastery of knowledge, and so forth. This is linked with the fact that remnants of the past still linger in the world outlook and consciences of men even after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist ownership of the means of production. The anti-people regimes of the past had established work discipline by hunger, the whip and terror. They used all forms of deceit, trickery, ideological manipulation, and so forth, to keep the workers in a state of wage slavery, to seclude everyone in his own shell, and to root and maintain the relationships, customs and traditions underlying the capitalist order.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist relationships in production does away with the objective conditions for the existence of the laws, customs and traditions of the bourgeois society, but these do not disappear at once from the world outlook, the consciences and the psychology of men. This requires an all-around struggle and constant educational and persuasive work to root and strengthen in men's minds sound concepts concerning socialist discipline and to apply it according to the degree of development and the tasks set by the prospective future of that development. Experience shows that the development of the productive forces, the perfection of socialist relationships in produce, the intensification of the ideological revolution, the rearing of the new man, the affirmation of the norms and rules engendered and cultivated by the socialist way of production demand the continual strengthening of

socialist discipline in all fields. This is a long process that is constantly going on as an important aspect of the class struggle among the workers against the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, as well as against the petty-bourgeois psychology and the various inherited remnants in the consciences of men. This struggle is also being waged against the class enemy, who is not only trying to preserve, nurture and stimulate the petty-bourgeois psychology and spread the bourgeois-revisionist poison, but also seeks to create favorable ground for acts of indiscipline, disorganization, dissolution, anarchy, chaos, a lack of responsibility and indifference, in order to weaken the socialist economy by masked activity and destroy the foundations of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Albanian Workers' Party, grounded on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, has carried on this fight with total and all-around success--a struggle having to do with the formation of the new man with traits of communist morality. So in this respect too, the successes have been great, as in all other fields of activity. In the period through which we are passing, under the party's leadership and thanks to the colossal and all-around job which it is doing, we have attained such a degree of conscientious participation of the masses in useful social work for socialist construction, in governing the country and reinforcing the defensive capability of the fatherland as has never been witnessed heretofore. And this, as V. I. Lenin has said, is one of the factors in the invincibility of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the total victory of socialism.

The socialist reality of our days is replete with examples attesting to the new socialist attitude toward work and social property. The working class, reared and annealed by the party, with heroism, a high spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, with the ardent socialist patriotism which characterizes it, stands in the forefront of the other working masses in the struggle to build and defend socialism. The party's correct Marxist-Leninist line, and the work, sweat and creative initiatives of the workers have been materialized in hundreds and thousands of industrial, agricultural, educational and other structures and installations.

But these achievements, which form a powerful basis for more rapid progress, as the party directs, cannot and must not be made a reason for displays of self-complacency, for lapsing into euphoria. On the contrary, they should prompt us to view all the achievements with a critical eye and to discover and eliminate everything that obstructs our forward march, since the very process of development sets new demands upon the workers and the effort to affirm the norms of socialist morality is a process that cannot be effected immediately and in all workers.

In this respect, we cannot underrate those alien manifestations and attitudes toward work and property which are still perceived in some enterprises and individual institutions, indicating inadequate efforts for the ideological annealing of people. Life shows that a path is left for the penetration of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology wherever people do not work as they should to anneal each and every worker with the party's proletarian ideology.

It is also important to bear in mind the fact that along with the expansion of social production in our country there has been and is a daily growth in the number of workers taking part for the first time in useful social work in industry, agriculture and the other sectors of the economy and culture. Most of them come from the school benches, where they have not received that class annealing and that degree of socialist consciousness which underlie proletarian discipline at work. Similarly, in the ranks of the cooperativists there are still workers who do not rid themselves at once of the small owner psychology and do not submit at once to the demands of discipline imposed by the organization of major socialist production. Nor should it be forgotten that the greater the tasks set before us, the higher are the demands for the most self-aware and iron discipline, for a perfected labor organization and the highest effectiveness of everyone's labor.

Viewing the problem in all these aspects, it is understandable that the strengthening of discipline at work is and remains an important party task. The resolution of this task demands that it be kept in the center of attention of the party organizations, the state and economic organs and the mass organizations, and that it be dealt with constantly, with patience, persistence and skill, in close conjunction with the tasks of the country's economic and social development, and with the circumstances and conditions in each enterprise, farm cooperative and institution.

The party instructs us that the strengthening of work discipline demands a correct and all-around conception of this problem. It is a matter of overcoming the narrow conception of discipline that reduces the matter to some one practical aspect without tying it to all the aspects that constitute this great problem, which is so delicate and of first-rate importance. Hence, work discipline must be viewed in its entirety, from the smallest to the biggest things. It has to do not only with reporting for work, with proper utilization of work time, and so forth, which have their importance and are problems that demand to be pursued with care, but also with work discipline, which must be understood in a broader sense, especially in close conjunction with the accurate and conscientious performance of all the tasks deriving from the very principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the laws of the socialist state, from the nature of the socialist order, from the principle that socialism is the work of the masses led by the party. The requirements of work discipline are tied to the performance of the state plan tasks in all the indicators of that plan, with technical, scientific and financial discipline, and so forth.



Under socialism, work discipline is built on new bases, on the basis of social ownership of the means of production and the disappearance of exploitation of man by man. It is grounded on the fact that the workers under socialism work for themselves and society. Conscientious discipline under socialism stems from the principle of democratic centralism, which unites the broad democracy of the masses with a single management. Speaking of these problems, V. I. Lenin wrote that "those things which we have won, which we have decreed, sanctioned by law, discussed and decided have to be reinforced--they have to be strengthened in sound forms of daily labor discipline. This is the most difficult task, but it is also the most noble task, since only its solution will give us a socialist regime. We must learn to combine the democratism of the working masses, such as demonstrations in meetings, a vigorous democratism that bursts forth like springtime floodwaters and overflows the banks, with iron discipline during work" (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. III, pp 151-152).

Our socialist order has been built and is being developed in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The party's principles, norms and rules, the laws of the state which incarnate the vital interests of the working class and the other working masses, underlie our whole social life. A knowledge of them, a correct understanding and a precise and conscientious application of them and respect for them by everyone is a necessary condition for our socialist economic order to develop on the correct revolutionary path, for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be constantly strengthened, for the victories of the revolution and socialist construction to be defended, and to be consolidated and moved ever forward.

This is why the enforcement of the demands of work discipline, of technical and scientific discipline, of plan and contract discipline and so forth in everyone's practical activity is very important for the country's economic and social development on the path of socialism.

Under socialism, the first requirement deriving from work discipline is the duty and right for everyone to work, to do useful social work, and to work wherever called upon by the need to build the socialist society and defend the socialist fatherland.

In our country, private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man have disappeared: the workers are coming to understand ever better that work is what underlies our socialist order. Work is the principal means of constantly increasing social production, the national income, strengthening the economy and the defensive capabilities of the fatherland, and securing the life and raising the welfare of the working masses. In work, men are reared and annealed with the qualities of communist morality. "The formation of the new man--this broad, important and complex problem--," Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "cannot be understood and must never be treated in isolation from the question of work: it must never be considered apart from work" (Enver Hoxha, "On the Marxist-Leninist Education of the Cadres, the Communists and the Masses," p. 348).

Our country's workers, ever more aware of this, generally feel it to be their duty and right to take part on useful social work on all fronts of socialist construction. It is a fact that every year tens of thousands of young workers take up work in the various sectors of the economy in town and country. In the state sector of the economy and culture alone, the number of workers in 1977 increased about 9 times over 1947. In the farm cooperatives too, the number of cooperativists participating in work has grown from year to year.

In accordance with the party's orientations and directives, along with the development and rapid progress in agriculture and the socialist countryside and with the tendency of some workers to leave the countryside, a love for work in agriculture and for rural living is gradually setting in, as well as the new phenomenon of city workers going to work and live in the farm enterprises and cooperatives. Within just a few days after the instructions given by Comrade Enver Hoxha during his visits to the districts of Gjirokaster and Sarande, over 1,500 urban workers in 6 districts have begun to work in agriculture. Thousands of other workers from various districts of the country are taking part in the construction of the big five-year plan projects such as the metallurgical combine in Elbasan, the Fierze hydro-plant, the Prrenjas--Guri i Kuq railroad, and so forth. It is a positive fact that the workers from the towns have begun to go also to work in mines, in geology, in construction, reclamation, and so forth. The mistaken notion is also being overcome that the secondary schools turn out office workers. These schools turn out year after year thousands of young workers qualified in various "profiles" and vocations, who go to work wherever the fatherland needs them and there are work fronts.

But this process demands further intensification, especially to combat the manifestations of erroneous ideas about "work at home," "choice work," and so forth. The state makes great expenditures to create new work fronts and to develop those branches of the economy which have to do with the strengthening of the country's economic independence and the application of the principle of self-reliance. And it is a fact that at a time when millions are wandering about unemployed in the capitalist and revisionist countries, we have more work fronts than manpower for the work to be done. Industry in the towns has developed and will develop in keeping with the needs of the economy and the people. But its development is closely linked with the provision of raw materials, with the development of the extractive industry and agriculture. Without developing the industry for the extraction of petroleum and other useful minerals, without developing such key branches of industry as the extraction, enrichment and processing of minerals, the metallurgical, electric, chemical, machine-building and other industries, the progress of the other branches of the economy cannot be assured. On the other hand, the performance of the great tasks in increasing agricultural and livestock production demands not only the full participation of all the able-bodied rural forces in work, but also the transfer of some workers from the towns to work and live permanently in the countryside.

A good job is being done in the city of Lushnje to clarify these problems and to direct the new labor force to where the work fronts are. The party base organizations, the people's councils of the wards, the organizations of the Democratic Front in the blocks, the Trade-Union organizations in the work and production centers, the Youth organizations and the schools are dealing concretely with the problems relating to sending men to work so that no one will remain without a useful occupation. As a result, hundreds of young men and women are now working not only in the urban enterprises, but also in the farm enterprises and some farm cooperatives.

As experience is also demonstrating, the formation and strengthening of correct ideas about work, the inculcation in everyone of a love and respect for any work useful to society requires continual work both with the young men and women and with their parents. In this framework, great importance attaches to the vigorous growth of social opinion against the tendency noted here and there on the part of some young people to lead an empty and parasitic life, against the erroneous attitudes held by some parents toward their children when they say: "don't worry, I'll keep and feed you," without thinking about the great harm caused to them and society today and in the future. But along with educational, clarifying and persuasive work to combat alien ideas and attitudes and to inculcate correct ideas, it is necessary also to apply organizational, administrative and economic measures so that everyone on a work front will feel that he is in his right place, and will feel the aid of the collective, and the joy of work and its results. In this respect, especially with regard to the good organization of work, there is a need for the state and economic organs to do a better job.

The uninterrupted and rapid growth in labor productivity is the most concentrated expression of the strengthening of proletarian discipline. Along with the measures that have been and are being taken by the party to broaden the material base of industry, especially to develop the liquid fuel production industry, the power industry, the mineral extracting and processing industry, the machine-building, chemical and other industries, special importance attaches to the rational utilization of work time by achieving a normal degree of intensity of labor.

Great progress has been made in this field. Nevertheless, we are not permitted to close our eyes to the shortcomings which are still noted in the full utilization of work time. If such an attitude were tolerated, it would do harm to the cause of educating the workers in a spirit of conscientious proletarian discipline at work and would leave the way open to liberalism. This would have effects on the economy too with regard to the increase in labor productivity and the effectiveness of social production.

It is important in this respect to keep a "class eye" on all the concrete aspects of violation of work discipline by certain poorly molded workers. More attention must be drawn to the problem of absences from work without cause, especially in certain sectors and enterprises in which a tendency to increase them is noted. Analyses shows that most absences from work are in the second and third shifts; by days of the week most of them are on Saturdays and Mondays; by months of the year most are in June, July, August and September; by age and work record most of them are found to be among the young and workers with low seniority; by branches of production the most absences are noted in mines, construction and forestry.

But in a good many cases these problems are treated in a general, bureaucratic manner, not according to the concrete manifestations in each enterprise and work center; not always are the causes found out and differentiated work with people built on this basis, along with the pertinent organizational and administrative measures. There are likewise cases where certain enterprises and institutions give leave beyond the prescribed criteria, and the official persons authorized to grant those leaves are not specified. Concessions are noted, and control is not on the proper level. But making concessions at a time when everyone is required to give the maximum possible in the performance of a specific task means not living with the situation, not applying in practice the principle of self-reliance, doing harm to the cause of educating the workers in the requirements of socialist discipline at work. In this connection, it is necessary to emphasize that our country's economy has greatly expanded and that the degree of cooperation between its various branches is constantly growing. Consequently, the violation of discipline or the non-performance of a task in one link of the economy hinders the work in the other links, and the damage suffered by the economy is great. It is important to understand well that what appears to be something small at the brigade, shift or department level grows by large proportions at the level of the country's entire economy. Under present conditions, if every worker were allowed to lose even a few minutes of his work time, this would be equivalent to the work of several thousands of workers on a society-wide scale. This is why the phenomenon of violation of discipline, like every liberal attitude in this respect, must be rigorously struck down without making any concession whatsoever.

Another problem that has made its appearance is that of the full utilization of work time within the shift. In some machine shops, enterprises and farm cooperatives it sometimes happens that the effective work time of individual workers is 25-30 percent less during a shift. The reasons for this vary. In addition to coming to work late and leaving work ahead of time, there are loafing, poor organization of work and supply of materials and tools to the place of work, movement of workers during the day's work from one kind of work to another, failure to assign tasks promptly to the workers, interruption of electric power, breakdowns, and so forth.

All these shortcomings and weaknesses, which in most cases are of a subjective character, burden production, damage the economy, impede the full mobilization of forces for the performance of the tasks. They have their origin in the liberal ideas and attitudes of some production managers in enterprises and farm cooperatives, in the failure to demand an accounting of everyone on the performance of duties and the enforcement, without concessions, of the requirements of labor legislation, and in a misunderstanding of the situation through which we are passing.

Discipline among us is the same for all. It knows no distinction either as to workers and cooperativists or as to employees and directors. We stress this because in practice some enterprises and institutions make too many concessions to employees. There are some who come to work late, quit work, do not perform the assigned task on time or rightly and are not always held accountable for these violations, and still less are the pertinent educational and administrative measures taken. Such attitudes create breaches in work discipline and become the cause of dissolution and indiscipline. It is therefore necessary to strive to see to it every employee [năpunēs = "white-collar worker"] shall accurately enforce the requirements of socialist discipline at work and be an example in the execution of all tasks.

The party directs us to treat the poor utilization of work time politically as a major problem and to dwell concretely on all the indicators of utilization of work time, making thorough analyses of the causes and discussing them in the brigade, the shift, the department, the sector and up to the enterprise level in order to take the necessary measures. Here it is important that the socialist organization of work should be strengthened along with educational and persuasive work. The creation of a sound and militant work environment that does not compromise with any shortcoming, weakness or alien manifestation with regard to work in an enterprise also requires the taking of suitable organizational and technical measures. The clear definition of everyone's tasks, the organization of the work place, the regular supply of raw and other materials, work tools, and so forth, to the places of work, the taking of measures to keep the workers from being deprived of urban transportation, social feeding services, and so forth, are indispensable in order to have everyone utilize work time fully. Otherwise, educational work is also unable to bring about the required results. Precisely for this reason it is necessary for the party organizations to treat the problem of work discipline in an all-around manner, defining tasks both for political educational work, socialist competition, and so forth, and for good organization of work by the administrations of the enterprises and the production managers, and engaging in this work not only in the first shift, but also in the second and third shifts. This demands that the workers in the administrations of the enterprises shall be divided up and work in three shifts, just as the laborers do.

An important requirement of socialist discipline is the conscientious performance by everyone of the task at his own place of work. For laborers, the task is concretized by the work or production norm. The work norm represents the amount of work as expressed in the quantity and quality which each worker has the duty to give to society and on the basis of which he takes his due from society. Therefore, the inclusion in work with norms and the fulfillment or overfulfillment of the norm by each worker is a concrete expression of the enforcement of the requirements of discipline at work.

In these last few years, on the basis of the party orientations, work with norms has been extended: about 82 percent of the workers in the various branches of the economy work with norms; nearly 58 percent of the time worked with norms has been done with technical norms and the uniform norms for many sectors have also been reviewed, as for manual operations in agriculture, motor transportation operations, and partly those for construction operations. The setting of norms that have been studied as closely as possible and based on technical and scientific criteria is an indispensable condition for strengthening work discipline, fully utilizing work time and educating workers in a socialist attitude toward labor. But the level of work norming in some sectors is still low. During the past year about 30 percent of the laborers working with norms fulfilled them 110 percent, which shows that obsolete norms achievable without difficulty are still being maintained. It is understandable that under these conditions they do not aid properly in strengthening discipline and cannot play their proper role as measurements of labor and compensation, as an organizing factor in stimulating the laggard to reach the level of the most advanced, in placing every worker under such conditions as to be constantly in revolution, to work, think, create and apply innovations and rationalizations, to perfect his work and the machinery and equipment on which he works.

These are the reasons why, as Comrade Enver Hoxha bids us, the perfection of the norming of work, especially the expansion of technical norming, forms one of the key problems of the technical-scientific revolution. The norming of labor as a factor in strengthening discipline and the performance of tasks by everyone is a prime duty and has to do with the exercise of control by the state over the amount of work and consumption. The waiting attitude held by a good many state organs in this respect, which justify themselves by the fact that the review of the norms is done only at the initiative of the masses, is not right. Now workers' initiatives in this field too have not been lacking, but they must be better supported and more powerfully encouraged. Moreover, this work will not do itself, but demands direction and organization. It is the duty of the central departments, the executive committees of the district people's councils, the economic enterprises and the farm cooperatives to set clear and concrete objectives every year for expanding work with norms, extending technical norming to all possible work processes, and revising the uniform norms and the special norms of the enterprises on the basis of the advanced average. Within this framework, the executive committees, of

the district people's councils can and must effect unifications of the work norms in the farm cooperatives on the basis of areas and according to the similarity of the conditions of their work. Special care is demanded in terminating the backwardness of those workers who do not achieve the norms and who in certain branches of the economy reach 20 percent of the laborers who work with norms. Particularly in the farm enterprises and the farm cooperatives, this task demands special effort. The failure to achieve the norms is due mainly to poor use of work time, which comes from weakness in work organization, from the failure to form work skills, from the non-generalization of advanced experience, and so forth.

Of prime importance in this respect is also the strengthening of state control in all links of production for the correct interpretation and application of the norms and the wage coefficients. The controls exercised show that erroneous operations are still being executed which burden the economy and lead to impairment of the consciences of men. Work not actually done is recorded, or more work than was actually done is recorded; products that do not respond to the requirements of the state standards and technical conditions are booked and paid for; the categories of land are changed indiscriminately in some cases in construction, farm, mining and geologic enterprises; there is not always agreement between the product stored and that reported for the purposes of compensating workers; and so forth. The shortcomings in work norming, as well as in their interpretation and application result in impairing the wage relationships between the various categories of workers according to the branches of the economy, which cannot help but affect work discipline and the consciences of the workers. In this respect, the shortcomings also affect the categorization of the processes and places of work and have resulted in setting the categories higher than they should be for certain work processes and places. Disregard of the relationships between the wages fixed by the wage tariff system is not a purely technical matter. It has to do with the infringement of the socialist principle of compensation according to work, with the weakening of the relationships in the distribution of the product per person. Hence, these problems cannot be allowed to pass readily and without being noticed. On the contrary, they demand a careful and systematic treatment and supervision in order to come out ahead and particularly to eliminate any phenomenon that may have negative consequences.

The problems of strengthening work discipline and making full use of work time are among the principal elements of proletarian discipline. But also especially important are its other constituent elements. There are problems particularly in the field of plan discipline, supply and distribution, the application of technology, the quality of products, and proper maintenance and use of machinery and equipment, and raw and other materials.

The good use of all the existing possibilities to strengthen proletarian discipline demands that these problems shall not be treated simply and

solely in their technical and administrative aspects, but primarily as problems with a profound political, ideological, moral and economic content. These have to do with people's world outlook, with everyone's understanding of the nature of our socialist order and the relationship between democracy and discipline, between rights and duties, with the disappearance of the erroneous idea inherited from the past about viewing the state as a "remote and alien" organism, and with the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist conception of the state and its role.

But alien conceptions of the state do not disappear at once and from everyone's mind. Hence, one also notes the tendency on the part of some workers to take as much as possible from the state and give as little as possible, to cheat at work, to evade the laws and state decisions, and so on. This imposes the duty to do a thorough and differentiated job, especially with that category of workers who still entertain this idea, so that they may understand and form deep convictions about the radical changes which distinguish our socialist state from the capitalist and revisionist ones. The rooting of the Marxist-Leninist conception of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in which the people headed by the working class is in power under the party's leadership, which expresses and defends the workers' interests, has to do with cultivating in every citizen a correct attitude toward the state and society, toward his rights and duties, and with the cultivation of conscientious discipline. The thorough political, ideological and class treatment of improper phenomena, manifestations and attitudes toward the state and society, which are encountered here and there in practice, is an indispensable condition for inculcating correct ideas and conscientiously enforcing proletarian discipline in its entire breadth. It is likewise necessary to further perfect the work of systematically and actively involving the workers themselves in the treatment and practical solution of the problems of socialist organization of labor and the strengthening of conscientious discipline.

The pressure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology is exercised systematically and in every form upon our country. This pressure is aimed at keeping alive the remnants of the past in the consciences of our people, in the power of custom, tradition and petty-bourgeois mentality about work. This makes it necessary to wage the class struggle even among the working masses, to clarify the class nature of alien manifestations and attitudes toward work, so that the bourgeois-revisionist ideology may not find ground from which to infiltrate and harm us. But this requires that in every work and production center the existing sound environment, the fighting spirit of the workers, shall be further strengthened so that they will not compromise with any violation of discipline and will combat forcefully and without any concession every alien manifestation or attitude toward work and property.



The working class itself is interested in constantly strengthening work discipline. The problems of discipline cannot be properly solved unless they are made problems for the workers themselves. The latter do not and cannot remain indifferent to cases of violation of discipline since the waste of work time harms not only the interested worker, but also his work comrades, the working class and society as a whole. Hence the need to constantly interest the workers in strengthening discipline on the part of everyone and in performance of the tasks. Confrontations of workers on problems of discipline and work organization are a concrete expression of that interest. But it is important to further strengthen and increase mutual social control among the workers every day and every hour, so that everyone may conscientiously perform his tasks and accurately comply with all the requirements of discipline at work.

The data show that in some sectors and enterprises the production, construction and service tasks have been fulfilled and overfulfilled although they have had fewer workers than the plan provided for. Thus, if the utilization of work time, the elimination of absences and interruptions of work were properly calculated, a good many enterprises would fulfill their tasks with a smaller number of workers; if the work norms were revised on the basis of the advanced average, a volume of production or construction amounting to hundreds of millions of additional leks would be yielded with the same number of workers. These reserves are known and securable. Their inclusion in the plan is an indispensable requirement for raising work discipline and the scientific level of planning to a higher degree.

Equally important is the question of improving the method and style in the work of the state and economic organs for strengthening work discipline, supervising the realization of the work indicators which also express the degree of discipline at work. The tasks which we face demand that the party organs and organizations shall do a better job of holding the state and economic organs accountable for treating these problems with greater concern, continuity and persistence, shall combat unhesitatingly every manifestation of liberalism and bureaucratism in this field and shall insure the full and uncompromising performance of the tasks incumbent upon them with regard to strengthening the socialist organization of labor.

The Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee set important tasks for the enforcement of the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress and the fulfillment of the state plan for 1978. The strengthening of the socialist organization and discipline of labor are important factors in achieving those objectives set by the party and, as always, successfully breaching the hostile imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade against our country.

10002  
CSO: 2100



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### DEVELOPMENT OF PENSION SECURITY SINCE 1969

Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 25 Aug 78 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Years of Our Advancement"]

[Text] The system of basic social security of our citizens has markedly improved since 1969. Care for families with children and young people has improved and better conditions for establishment of families were created. Together with the favorable political and economic development of our society, the new measures have contributed toward overcoming the long-term population decrease. An important step toward insuring a satisfied old age for everyone was taken by improving income security.

Care for elderly citizens has been steadily improved in the field of pension security. A total of 382,000 low pensions were increased by an average of Kcs 147 in 1969. Financial expenditures covering these measures reached an amount of Kcs 780 million. Pension security for members of the national resistance was increased and further supplements to small pensions were introduced.

Further adjustments increasing almost 1 million small pensions were realized by Law No 106/71 of the Collection of Laws. In fulfillment of the broad social program of the 14th CPCZ Congress--based on successful fulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan--a new social security law was adopted, becoming valid on 1 January 1976 upon ratification by the Federal Assembly of the CSSR. In its scope it is the most important measure in the whole development of our social security since ratification of the national insurance law in 1948.

Pensions allotted after 1 January 1976 were markedly adjusted in favor of the pensionaries. The maximal limit of the pensions was shifted according to categories to Kcs 2,010, Kcs 2,150 and Kcs 2,500. The smallest pension--as long as it constituted the only source of income--was increased to Kcs 600 and to Kcs 1,100 for a couple.

The amount of newly allotted pensions is systematically being increased in agreement with growing salaries. While in 1968 the average amount of newly allotted pensions (stemming from the workers' security) was Kcs 878, it reached an amount of Kcs 1,246 in 1977. Paid out pension security benefits almost doubled in 1977 in comparison with 1968.

Pension security allots old age, disability, vidual, orphans' and social pensions. According to the state of affairs at end of 1977, a 60-year-old man or a 54 to 57-year-old woman--according to number of children she has brought up--is entitled to receive an old age pension. They had to have worked for 25 years since their 18th birthday. This work time also includes studies after the 18th birthday as well as time a mother spent at home till the third birthday of her child.

A disability pension is allotted according to the same conditions as an old age pension. The number of work years is taken into account as long as it does not stem from a work accident.

Widows who have reached 48 years at the time of their husband's death or who take care of infants are entitled to receive an individual pension. The same right goes to orphaned children who have not been provided for. Persons who were not insured (3 percent of all pensionaries) receive social pension.

The age limits required in order to be entitled to receive a pension are--with some exceptions--higher in capitalist countries than in the CSSR.

CSO: 2400

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON CIVIL DEFENSE

Prague ATOM in Czech No 8, 1978 pp 2-3

[Interview with Deputy Minister of National Defense of CSSR, Lt Gen Josef Marusak, by Lt Col Josef Mladejovsky]

[Text] The subject of the interview will be civil defense and the broad area of its operations, which by no means concerns soldiers alone--as many people still believe--but also the majority of the citizens of Czechoslovakia. It keeps penetrating more and more all of the strata of the Czechoslovak society which is quite logical since the broad system of civil defense is designed to make a maximum contribution to the defensive capacity of the entire CSSR. Because peace is not a gift or an accidental phenomenon. Because peace is a reality achieved [only] through hard uncompromising struggle. After all, the time has not yet come when all states would be willing to settle disputes and disagreements by peaceful means and without any reservations at a negotiating table; the sound of threats and saber-rattling has yet not subsided.

[Question] And so, comrade general, even though we know that efforts to overcome the "cold war," transition to equal rights in relations between states, a certain amount of trust and ability to consider mutually the lawful interests of the other state, are the essence of the only possible reasonable alternative of human existence in the contemporary world, it will certainly not be out of place if I ask you about the main tasks of Civil Defense.

[Answer] There are several main tasks but, basically, we are concerned with two things which reflect all the efforts of all those who take an active part in the important activities of the Civil Defense system. First of all, we are concerned with a consistent moral-political and psychological preparation of the population with one goal in mind: the citizens should fully understand the need for making preparations even in peacetime,

so that in case of need they would be able to handle the not inconsiderable tasks even in a critical and complicated situation. Secondly, we place a definite emphasis on specialized, thorough preparedness of the population in various professions because the quality of entire collectives depends on the high level of each individual. And this element, carried to its logical consequences, means vitality, resilience of the entire national economy, its ability to complete its economic mission even in an emergency.

[Question] But if I take into consideration the objectively necessary fact that truly great masses of the people participate in the Civil Defense system, people whose exacting state of training calls for considerable financial and other outlays...

[Answer] Of course, we are quite aware of that. That is why we have done and are now doing much to make sure that the Civil Defense system would provide us with some kind of return even in peacetime. Conclusive evidence only underlines the fact that personal education to carry out the tasks within the framework of Civil Defense must necessarily have, and also has, a positive effect on the quality of the tasks carried out in all the branches of the national economy. Indeed, this close relation of the tasks is one of the main sources of return in economic values.

[Question] Could you be a little more specific and mention the type of activities in which this effort clearly manifests itself?

[Answer] We see the most significant factor of a return in the efforts of taking advantage of the possibilities offered by the Civil Defense system directly and to a much greater extent in dealing with operational breakdowns and natural disasters. Even though, basically, we are not dealing with a new task, I could mention some positive examples indicating that actual use of Civil Defense personnel and equipment is greatly beneficial to the society.

[Question] Which example would you like to emphasize?

[Answer] I would prefer to emphasize all of them. Even quite minor ones, because they also help advance the matter. But, in any case, I should mention those which in my opinion provide the greatest amount of stimulation. I have in mind, above all, efforts to eliminate operational breakdowns within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Fuels and Energy, specifically, one of the breakdowns which affected high-voltage long-distance power lines. Immediate, rather extensive action of the Civil Defense power service reduced the period of the power failure 50 percent, and thus made it possible to restore the functioning of several important plants a week earlier. I also like to mention an example of excellent cooperation of the Civil Defense staffs with the management of the national enterprise "Nova Hut Klementa Gottwalda" (Klement Gottwalds Metallurgical Works), and I would like to point out especially the personal initiative

of the director of that enterprise, Comrade Engr V. Kosar. But there are a number of cases with which we had very good experience. Naturally, we would like to take advantage of them as soon as possible in other areas of our national economy. And it will be really necessary to do that, because so far not all Civil Defense branch chiefs do by any means appreciate fully the benefits to the society of an active approach to this type of tasks and a determined and successful implementation of these tasks.

[Question] Could you briefly explain where the salient point of the entire Civil Defense system preparation is and what it consists of?

[Answer] On the basis of peacetime tasks, and also of the other tasks, the implementation of which would come in consideration under unusual conditions, the preparation of the entire Civil Defense system is centered in small units. In other words, it is particularly a question of consistent orchestration of the functioning of fire-fighting, health-service, power-supply, army-engineering, chemical, communication, and other units--it is essentially a question of optimum coexistence of man and machine.

[Question] And that [the machinery] is obviously much more diverse than I originally thought...

[Answer] As a matter of fact, it does involve an unusually wide range of equipment. Indeed, it corresponds to the diversity of the equipment ranging through the entire national economy of the CSSR. The following key fact is based precisely on that: If we are preparing the man for handling of equipment for needs of the national economy in peacetime, he will be able to carry out much more difficult tasks, using the same equipment, in a tight situation. Consider, for example, the use of agricultural machinery for decontamination of the terrain, heavy earth moving equipment for removal of obstacles, and by analogy a wide range of other uses of equipment from specialized fields.

[Question] Many of our citizens--and among them some members of the components of the Armed Forces--believe that the Civil Defense system depends to a substantial extent on the military component of the Civil Defense.

[Answer] Even though we conceive of the Civil Defense system as a complex organism in which soldiers play an important role, nevertheless, the system is based to a considerable degree on active implementation of the tasks of the non-military component of the Civil Defense and of almost the entire population of Czechoslovakia. That is precisely why it is so tremendously important that we meet with full understanding of the party and state organs at all levels. I have in mind not only the earlier mentioned branch of the Ministry of Fuels and Power, but also those of the Ministry of Metallurgy and Heavy Engineering, of the Ministry of Transportation, and in addition also all chairmen of Kraj national committees--chiefs of the Civil Defense of individual kraj. But I would like to emphasize in particular the interest and initiative given to our efforts by the

majority of chief secretaries of territorial organs of the CPCZ. On behalf of all of them, I mention comrades G. Slapka, chief secretary of the CPS Municipal Committee in Bratislava, RSDR, F. Tesar, chief secretary of the CPS Kraj Committee of the East Bohemia Kraj, and J. Sepela, chief secretary of the CPS Okres Committee in Trnava. We value highly the approach of some general directors of economic production units to the Civil Defense preparation. Thorough understanding of the tasks was reflected very favorably, for example, in a worthwhile demonstration exercise of the economic production unit CKD [Ceskoslovenska Kolben-Danek] in Sokolovo, which was organized in the middle of May by comrade general director Engr R. Rychucky.

[Question] Our discussion indicates that the success of the Civil Defense is due to a considerable extent to members of organic units in plants, enterprises, united agricultural cooperatives, bureaus, and installations. Could you give us your views concerning the success of these units?

[Answer] We pay close attention to these units, particularly with regard to their theoretical and practical preparation. But this by itself would not be enough; indeed, the quality of the results depends also to a considerable degree on the attitude of individual chiefs of the management system to the tasks of the Civil Defense. In many cases, the preparation of small units usually ends with a test organized within the framework of socialist competition of the given department. Such check is always very important, because it arouses in individuals as well as collectives strong motivation for achieving the best results and thereby opening the way for participation in the competition at the highest level.

[Question] And if you had to give a small proof of that...

[Answer] Why a small one? I have bigger ones, too. For example, in the fire-fighting units of Ministry of Transportation, we found that the equipment was handled excellently, we admired the professional knowledge and enthusiastic performance of the firemen. A surprise alarm provided on the spot decisive evidence of the quality of the training of this best fire-fighting unit of the Civil Defense in our department. We combined the alarm with an assignment to intervene within the unit's area of deployment. In the given case, the place of assignment was the Main Railroad Station in Plzen. To put it briefly, it was a pleasure to watch it. In the same way, we rated highly the results obtained in the competition of the health-service teams of the same ministry.

[Question] Whatever share in the completed tasks may have been held by any component of the Civil Defense, I think that one can say this unequivocally: By its existence and the results obtained, the Civil Defense system is based on the closest cooperation of the military and non-military components of the Civil Defense.

[Answer] Yes, you hit the nail right on the head. What attests to good mutual implementation of the tasks, in addition to routine practice, is



also the recent joint exercise "Hansag-Dunaj 78." We are still studying the wealth of results of that exercise. In particular, we appreciate the international content of that exercise, in which complex assignments were carried out by the Civil Defense systems of two fraternal countries--the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. Military as well as non-military components of the Civil Defense systems performed jointly for a period of several days, night and day. If I mentioned previously the positive attitude of party and state organs at all levels to problems of Civil Defense, this fact was fully confirmed both during the preparatory period as well as--and especially so--by the actual performance of the "Hansag-Dunaj 78" exercise, when we enjoyed full support of the highest party and state organs of the SSR, support which was emphasized even more by the personal attendance of our comrades. This important and extensive exercise was followed with the same attention by Army General M. Dzur, minister of national defense of the CSSR, Comrade E. Turzo, chief of the state administration department of the CPCZ Central Committee, and by Lt Gen A. Brabec, commanding officer of the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army. Chiefs of Civil Defense territorial organs who performed their functions very well and had the Civil Defense systems well in hand. This applies to all of them--whether it is SSR Vice Premier Engr J. Hanus, or comrade Engr L. Martinak, mayor of the Capital City of SSR Bratislava, or comrade RSDr J. Kralik, chairman of the kraj national committee of the West Slovakia Kraj.

[Question] And if you had to evaluate briefly the results obtained by our participating Civil Defense units?

[Answer] During this particular exercise the Civil Defense units and services have demonstrated the highest state of preparedness in their process of cleaning up the results of an extensive natural disaster. Their dedication, steadfastness, decisiveness, their outstanding professionalism and high level of morale were the foundation for efficient implementation of the assignments during the "Hansag-Dunaj 78" exercise. The exercise involved the use of heavy earth moving equipment, motor vehicles, communication, rescue, and fire-fighting equipment and health service facilities, drivers, mechanics, medics, energeticists, gas and water management services, communal supply and public order services of the SSR Ministry of Interior, and other services. The exercise revealed fully the high degree of interchangeability of various professions, timely and effective political activity, in which members of the CPS Municipal Committee of Bratislava and of the VPA KG [Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy] maintained close and effective cooperation with Civil Defense organs. Extensive cooperation of the military and non-military forces of the Czechoslovak Civil Defense and the Hungarian Civil Defense shone in full splendor. This was reflected in broad exchange of experience of a number of professions, intensification of comradesly relations, to put it shortly--in internationalism in practice. And since the task dealt with in the exercise was considerable, its successful implementation has become not only a difficult, overall verification

of the preparedness of the Civil Defense personnel, but it also brought significant economic effects to the Czechoslovak national economy, thanks to the military component of the Civil Defense in particular.

[Question] It is clear that the entire Civil Defense system of the CSSR has been going through the process of further qualitative improvement, particularly in the last few years. However, this unquestionably encouraging trend does not necessarily mean that there would be no more hidden reserves and opportunities, room for further activity and initiative, in the functioning of such a complex and multiform organism the important mission of which affects literally millions of people of Czechoslovakia.

[Answer] There is no question that there exist additional reserves and opportunities for improvement of all our activities. I can even say that we know about them. At the present time, in discussing the results of the 11th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and of active communists of the entire armed forces, we are seeking ways and methods to further improve the quality and effectiveness of our work. We are fully aware that improvements of Civil Defense activities depend fully on the understanding on the part of the broad masses of the population that it is necessary to carry out actively the tasks to the full extent of the requirements of the CSSR Civil Defense system. Therefore, we are concerned with every citizen, we are concerned about convincing him that these problems are important, and winning him over to active participation in dealing with these problems in practice. We are unequivocally in favor of peace, and we are doing everything to prevent the possible third world war by acting jointly with the Soviet Union and other fraternal states associated under the Warsaw Pact. We are making every effort to assure that the incontrovertible fact that securing of peace under the conditions which exist in Czechoslovakia is determined by the high degree of preparedness in the entire Civil Defense system would become firmly entrenched in the mind of every citizen of CSSR. The Civil Defense tasks, established for each training year, are also based on that premise. In conclusion, allow me to express my conviction that, acting in unity with party and state organs at all levels and with the maximum possible active participation of the population, we will carry out honorably the tasks of the Civil Defense and thereby improve the entire CSSR Civil Defense system.

Conclusion: Comrade general, I can promise you on behalf of the editorial board of the periodical ATOM that we shall take advantage of every opportunity to assist actively in the implementation of this important task on the pages of our monthly technical journal of the armed forces, above all from the point of view of education and propaganda. I thank you for the interview.

5668-R  
CSO: 2400

ARMY ENGINEERS WORKING ON RAILROAD IMPROVEMENT

Prague Z'78 (ZAPISNIK) in Czech No 15, 1978 pp 25, 27

[Excerpts from article by Jiri Blecha: "Fire on the First Railroad Track"]

[Text] Routine workday of railroad army engineers. In the morning, buses took them to various workplaces located dozens of kilometers away from the camp, which from February to October is their home. They found accommodation in living in tents and in "maringotka" [a circus or gypsy wagon--here possibly a reference to a transportable, temporary shelter] during the freezing weather in February, when cast-iron stoves were often waging a losing battle with the cold permeating the tents. Hard life and equally hard service. [The men went] early in the morning to the railroad track, which is their training area. Regardless of the weather, because the work plan is a must for the army railroad engineers. Briefly stated: Dozens of kilometers of railroad tracks are to be rebuilt by October. In addition, that unit's members of the Socialist Youth League obligated themselves, in honor of the Youth and Students World Festival in Havana, to rebuild an additional 2 kilometers [of railroad tracks in excess of the norm].

At this moment, far away from the camp, the machine tearing up railroad tracks is followed by a machine laying rails; one can hear bulldozers, fastening, levelling, and other modern machines, from the equipment park of the members of the military railroad engineers of the Czechoslovak Army. At other workplaces, the soldiers keep installing new railroad tracks, laying concrete sleepers, rails and other material, disassembling old railroad tracks, driving trucks, and working on equipment maintenance.

The Platoon Continues Along the Track

...Later, we left for the railroad Velenice--Veseli nad Luznici. On Monday, a column of men, wearing military uniforms and accompanied by varied modern equipment started to move several kilometers down the line. The platoon is headed by a vehicle which tears up the old rails and pulls a rolling machine, which pushes the gravel to the sides. Additional work groups level and then reinforce the flat ground. They are followed by a tamping machine. Then comes a Tatra truck with electric generators set

up on the truck bed which power electric motors located under the powerful rail laying machine. A single work cycle and within a few minutes rails, 25 meters long and weighing 20 tons, are laid on the track. A trailer unit includes a gravel-laying set, machines for directional and level adjustment of the rails, a fastening group, a pouring group, and a final railroad track adjustment group.

A brand new railroad track is left behind the platoon. The work cycle began on Monday and will end on Sunday.

Then this unit of army railroad engineers will be shifted to other sections of the railroad line. The operators of the rail-laying machines, the mechanics with the gravel-laying sets, directional machines, tamping machines, motor saws, workers cutting rails, drivers of earth [moving?] machines and small rail vehicles, truck drivers, shunters, and soldiers of other professions who in most cases did not acquire these demanding skills until they became members of the armed forces, this year will deliver work representing a value of 60 million korunas.

This happens every year, only the value of the work keeps increasing. And that is the other side of the heroism of soldiers working between rails.

Caption (to the picture to the left on page 25):

Members of the army railroad engineers, within the framework of their training, contribute a significant part to the reconstruction of railroad lines in various parts of the republic. They have the most modern equipment to do that. The rail-laying machine, attended by a "platoon" of railroad army engineers, is moving on the railroad line Velenice--Veseli nad Luznici.

5668-R  
CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

'RUDE PRAVO' PUBLICATIONS--The number of RUDE PRAVO copies amounts to 900,000 copies daily, and on Saturday to 1.3 million copies. This amounts to 301.6 million copies annually, with a total of 2,953,600,000 pages. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO Weekend Supplement in Czech 23 Sep 78 p 2 AU]

CUBAN DELEGATION DEPARTS--The study delegation of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, led by Raimundo Espinoza, departed on 22 Sep for home. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 78 p 2 AU]

YUGOSLAV CONSUL GENERAL--Slovak Premier Peter Colotka received on Monday the Yugoslav Consul General in Bratislava, Blagoje Mihov, in connection with his departure from Slovakia. Comrade Colotka paid tribute at the meeting to the contribution made by the Yugoslav consul toward the expansion of the friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. [Text] [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 25 Sep 78 LD]

USSR MINISTER DEPARTS--Afanasiy Melnichenko, USSR Minister of the Medical Industry, and his party left Prague today after a one-week visit. At Ruzyně Airport, the Soviet guests were seen off by Jaroslav Prokopec, Czech minister of health. [Text] [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1845 GMT 24 Sep 78 LD]

INTERIOR MINISTER TO BULGARIA--A delegation of the CSSR interior ministry, led by J. Obzina, arrived in Bulgaria on an official visit on 25 Sep. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Sep 78 p 2 AU]

SYRIAN DELEGATION--The official delegation of the Syrian Federal Assembly, led by its chairman Mahmud Khalid, was received by the Prague mayor, Zdenek Zуска, in the Brozik Hall of the historical old town hall in Prague today. At the outset of its second day in Czechoslovakia the Syrian parliamentary delegation placed wreaths on the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior at Zizkov hill in Prague. The Syrian deputies then paid homage to the memory of the outstanding representative of the CPCZ and the international communist movement, Klement Gottwald, and placed red flowers at the memorial to the Soviet Army. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 22 Sep 78 LD]

PRESS SUBSCRIPTIONS INCREASED--According to the statement of Eng O. Kovac, central director of Slovak communications, at the All-Slovak aktiv meeting of PNS [Newspaper Mailing Service] workers, which was held on 22 Sep in Zilina and was attended by J. Manak, CSSR deputy minister of communications, in 1953 the PNS sent out 593,000 copies of newspapers and periodicals per edition; Last year this figure increased almost four times over, so that the individual and mass subscribers received almost 528 million copies, similar successes have been achieved also in the foreign, and particularly Soviet, press. [Text] [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 23 Sep 78 p 1 AU]

AGREEMENT WITH MEXICO--Mexico City, Sep 23 (CETKA)--A program for exchange between Czechoslovakia and the United Mexican States in the sphere of culture and education in the 1978-1980 period has been signed here within a cultural agreement between the two countries. The program was signed by head of a Czechoslovak cultural delegation Karel Komarek and general director of the Cultural Relations Department of the Mexican Foreign Ministry Ernesto Vanez Barrera. It provides for cooperation in the sphere of culture, education, youth, sport and mass information media. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1713 GMT 23 Sep 78 LD]

CSO: 2020

EAST GERMANY

GOOD EXAMPLES SEEN AS KEYS TO EFFECTIVE TRAINING

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 33, 1978 signed to press 14 Aug 78  
pp 4-5

/Interview with Lt Gen Joachim Goldbach, commander, Neubrandenburg Military District, by Col Hans Jaeger and Maj Wolfhard Schmidt: "So That the Good Example Is Adopted More Rapidly"/

/Text/ In the following interview with VA /VOLKSARMEE/  
Lt Gen Joachim Goldbach, commander to the Neubrandenburg Military District, included the summary of our contributed number entitled "Take Your Cues From the Best!" and of letters from readers and correspondents on this subject.

/Question/ Comrade general, one of the findings frequently mentioned in the approximately 100 articles and letters says that good experience does not spread of its own accord. Or, in the words of Division Commander Colonel Zeh: "The best experience does not get adopted without prudent and judicious guidance by superiors." What do you understand by "judicious guidance?"

/Answer/ I share Colonel Zeh's views. I would like to supplement them only to the following extent: prudent guidance by superiors--but in cooperation with the politorgans, party and FDJ organizations, especially if we are dealing with ideological processes while generalizing the good example.

If I affirm the thesis of prudent guidance, in so doing I would not care at all to deny the value of, let us say, the spontaneous exchange of experience, for example, between soldiers on the firing range where the best riflemen are asked: Say, how did you do that?

/Question/ But that is still not the kind of communication of experience we need in order to further heighten the combat readiness of entire units.

/Answer/ That is possible only with trained leadership because a good experience must first be tracked down, investigated and then tested to

determine to what extent it can be made comprehensible for everyone. On the other hand, it is frequently difficult for our comrades to say without equivocation how they achieved their excellent results. For that reason it is first up to the platoon leader, the company commander and even the party group to analyze what methods, attitudes, motives led to the results. Thus, analysis is indispensable. It brings to light that aspect of a performance which can be generalized, it transmits to us practicable conclusions and provides us with electrifying arguments in order to be able convincingly and effectively to take up sides for the good example.

/Question/ Analysis is the key word--how do you account for the fact that the practice of exemplary soldiers, squads, platoons often finds little acceptance among those who work alongside the best?

/Answer/ The reasons for that? Not infrequently we have the stereotype answer ready for that question: it is purely a question of guidance. That is only partially true. But this answer is of no help to anyone. Every performance is always at first subjectively conditioned. Even if all comrades in the army appear outwardly to be pretty much the same, there are naturally still the individual characteristics of the soldiers. Look here, since mention was repeatedly made in the VA discussion of physical efforts--of a soldier who had regularly engaged in sports and had not just been in the stands they cause no difficulties. Finding out in the face of these ever-present differences what is now really generally applicable and what is not causes considerable difficulties for many a company commander, platoon or squad leader. And so it happens that an experience which is good per se is superficially, mechanically generalized, if we ignore other hindrances such as envy or the like.

/Question/ Often one gets the impression that one is satisfied with painstakingly putting up photographs of the most successful comrades and collectives on the signboards and streets of the best, with announcing, more or less regularly, the names of the best and their placement in the competition.

/Answer/ In my view signboards of the best are not a matter of form or just decorative accessories. When I stay with a regiment, I observe them with interest and also with a certain pride for our best, for our pacesetters. This form and also the regular popularization of the results of competition--I consider it all to be indispensable. Just think of Lenin's principles of competition! It is assumed that these signboards are right up to date if they are to have their political effect. That act as stimuli, they urge on, they stimulate contemplation. In order to effectively popularize a good experience I nonetheless need far more than just a street of the best. This requires all sorts of things! Let us consider only what Colonel Zeh cited in the editorial mentioned: consultations, demonstrations and primarily discussions. After all, we are pursuing the goal of developing and strengthening socialist soldier personalities and military fighting collectives.



/Question/ Who is entitled to the honor of best? In this regard there is some difference of opinion among readers, namely, soldiers. Most of them, like soldier Ritter, say a best is naturally the person who makes the best performances. Others, like soldier Kuenzelmann, consider that person to be a best, a model, who must really struggle, who makes a mighty effort in order to achieve worthy accomplishments for the distinction as best. With which one do you agree, as commander of a military district?

/Answer/ Our comrades have thus raised a very complicated problem. Surely we as educators must also fittingly praise the comrade who has to really put his back to it to fulfill the training norms with a rating of at least satisfactory or good since he has great difficulties by virtue of his talents and the attitudes. But it is impossible for me to take a moderate success and redefine it as a best performance, even with all due respect for the efforts involved. This is true of every system of best.

Thus, only the result can count, no matter how harsh this may sound. The demands of combat set the standards. But why should I--and that is how I also understand soldier Kuenzelmann--not impose higher requirements of performance on someone who is physically, or in terms of education better prepared for military service? The socialist principle of performance, the real meaning of our competition provides a challenge for those who are stronger performers to also give the collective the benefit of their capabilities by being obligated, for example, by an FDJ mandate, to help their roommate. Thus, providing help directly to those who are weaker is an obligation or mandate of competition.

/Question/ This is the sense of soldier Torsten Bar's letter, among others: "Our best are models, they attempt to have an effect on other comrades who are weaker. In my collective I am the deputy of the senior soldier and try to be effective as a model..."

/Answer/ These comrades who of themselves, out of conviction and not primarily intent on praise and respect, assume the responsibility to act as a model in their room collective are entitled to our recognition. For, to act in an exemplary manner means, as it may rightly be put, to fight, in a class-conscious way, for discipline and order, for the strict observance of service regulations, for fulfilling commands in a manner full of initiative. This work cannot be regarded highly enough. Every company commander should rally these comrades solidly around himself. For only with their help is he in a position to really lead his company at any time and at any hour, thus even when he is on his way home in the evening.

/Question/ Organizing performance comparisons, working with the best, using comrades as assistant instructors--all this requires a definite pedagogical-methodological knowhow. In this connection noncommissioned officer Lerz says: "I was not taught at noncommissioned officers school to build on the methods of the best and to make conscious use of them in

training. That also does not happen in preparation for service. Must it be that acquiring such things is clearly only a matter of experience?"

/Answer/ At the noncommissioned officers schools we have devoted a rather considerably number of hours to teaching military pedagogy and psychology. Perhaps the degree of abstraction of the materials is at times too high for an 18- or 19-year-old young man who right after his examinations must meet his duties in the army with no crank-up time. Naturally he must receive pedagogical knowledge and experiences, they must be extremely relevant to actual practice, they must be as specific as possible. In my opinion the noncommissioned officer students must receive both solid theoretical knowledge as well as practical experience to which they, as superiors, instructors and trainers, can refer in the army. Things are more or less the same in the matter of preparation for service. In addition to factual knowledge, what is needed is method, pedagogical tools. If he has both, the young noncommissioned officer, the young officer, can successfully find a taker for the subject matter of the training. That is surely noncommissioned officer Lerz's concern, too.

/Question/ Where do you see the tasks of the communists in order to help the latest idea come to fruition in the clarification process?

/Answer/ The constitution of our party requires us to be pioneers of the latest, to be models, and in this sense to actively convert party policy into deeds. But a communist is also a human being with individual characteristics and attitudes like everyone else. He cannot automatically be best. No one requires that. But he should struggle for it. He must involve himself in discussions, that is, he must represent the correct point of view and have an educational effect on the members of the army. In this connection he must also come to terms with those who slow others down and who support mediocrity. That is often difficult for young comrades, too, who are superiors and they especially need the help of the basic organization of the party. Communists must always be and remain the driving force of socialist competition.

/Question/ If one wants to acquire the experience of the best, is not the first prerequisite that of identifying with the exemplary outlooks and attitudes of the best? Do you agree with the view of many VA readers in this?

/Answer/ This has to do with a basic attitude. There can be no socialist competition without socialist motives and the determination to fight. And clarity about why one participates includes being ready to learn from the best. Surely that conceals many inconveniences. But in the interest of our cause no one can persist in traditional things which have shown themselves to be outdated, as having little effectiveness. Just as the best should be prepared to communicate their experiences, so should the others naturally be willing to seize upon these in a well-reasoned manner. Those are two sides of a coin, which every superior together with the FDJ organization must keep polished.

/Question/ In your opinion what are the tasks of the staffs in order to make more room in socialist competition for the good example?

/Answer/ An important prerequisite for the educational influence of competition is its strict organization which contributes to the fact that obligations are met unconditionally. In general, from this, two closely related tasks accrue to the staffs. I see the first one to be in their making possible the successful guidance of socialist competition through good planning. In this, special attention must be paid to the most extensive coordination of all measures of competition, to the comparability of the results of competition, to the possibility of repeating the good example in daily training. In all these things the thoroughly considered evaluation of the results of competition is one of the most essential methods of further generalizing the experiences of the best.

Above all else this includes purposeful political mass work which concentrates on the solution of training and combat tasks, on the development of a deep understanding of the comrades for their place and their contribution in the struggle for a high degree of combat readiness. In this connection the effective mass generalization of the best experience plays a large role. Yet to generalize such experience effectively means making it known, pragmatically, concretely and in a form that can be easily understood. But this most definitely does not mean limiting oneself to general comments about the performances of the best collectives or best individuals. In my opinion the best experience should be more thoroughly propagated in staff conferences, at party and FDJ meetings and at meetings of the best in training and of victors in competition.

/Question/ Comrade General, thank you for this interview and, at this time, our thanks also to all comrades who joined in working on the VA issue of contributions entitled "Take Your Cues from the Best!" in the interest of a strong increase in fighting power and combat readiness.

12124

CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### NAUMANN STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF WORKERS MILITIA

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 22 No 8, Aug 78 p 1

[Article by Konrad Naumann, member, SED Central Committee Politburo, first secretary, Berlin Bezirk Management: "The Growing Role of the Workers Militia of the Working Class"]

[Text] The Ninth SED Congress has stressed the outstanding part played by the socialist defensive system in the energetic progress of the developed socialist society in the GDR, and in the consolidation of peace. A decisive contribution in this respect is made by the workers militia with its high combat power and battle readiness, its exemplary production achievements, and its active participation in the socialist defense training of the youth. The workers militia is a militant symbol of the revolutionary content of the peace policy of our worker and peasant state in a firm alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community. The workers militia bears witness to the firm resolve of the working class to defend the worker and peasant state, to assure the stability of socialism and to radically prevent and destroy all hostile influences without any regard for the attacks of the increasingly stronger diversions of imperialism and the latter's growing activity within NATO toward forcing an arms race.

The workers militia embodies the historical experience, the maturity and the best revolutionary traditions of the working class which are tied closely to its struggle for social progress, against imperialism, fascism and war. They extend from the fighters on the barricades of the 1848 Revolution in Berlin, from the struggle of the Kiel sailors in the November Revolution of 1918, from the people's naval division and the heroes of the combat in Berlin in January 1919, from the Red Ruhr Army and the central German workers battalions of the March battles, from the combat groups of the Hamburg uprising and the proletarian hundreds of Saxony and Thuringia, from the Red Front, founded by the KPD in 1924 as a proletarian guard and defense organization, to the resistance groups within the concentration camps of Hitler's regime and to the heroes of the international brigades in the Spanish Civil War.

The 25th anniversary of the founding of the workers militia will be celebrated in a few weeks' time, and will serve to remind us that the work of the workers militia is intimately tied to the origin and growth of our republic, and that the militia can today already look back on its very own and unique historical traditions. In the capital of the GDR these traditions extend from the workers of the Berlin radio works who, in the early fifties, used self-defense against provocateurs and diversionists, evicting them from the plant area, from the decisive action of the militia in the fall of 1956 when West German revanchists, under the impression of the counterrevolutionary putsch in Hungary felt encouraged to undertake a concentrated propaganda and diversionary campaign against the GDR, from the press and engraving brigade of the KWO which in an open letter dated 30 June 1961 called on all the toilers of the republic to secure peace at an advantageous time and to make the GDR immune to attack economically, politically and geographically, to the heroic achievements of the workers militia in taking over the guarding of the national border toward West Berlin on 13 August 1961 together with other armed organizations of the GDR, supported by the Soviet armed forces stationed in the GDR.

These great trials have categorically proven the firm class position and the uncompromising stance of the workers militia toward the imperialist adversary. To the entire world these trials have shown how the working class of our republic follows the call of the party for a comprehensive strengthening of the GDR and how the defense of socialism becomes more and more a cause of the entire nation. This is also expressed by the intimate link between the historical experience of the revolutionary struggle of the victorious working class and the policy of the Ninth Party Congress regarding the solution of the pressing political, economic and military tasks for the shaping of a developed socialist community and the safeguarding of peace.

The heritage of the revolutionary defensive and military traditions of the German and the international workers movement is also shown in the close ties between the education in class consciousness of the comrades militiamen and the cultivation of the revolutionary traditions of the working class. Not later than at the end of the year, 51 units of the workers militia in the capital of our republic will have been awarded an honorary designation, and other units are preparing to receive honorary designations by the 30th anniversary of our republic. Thus the number of units bearing the name of a revolutionary fighter will double this year. In many units the links between the plant's and the local community's traditions and those of the Committee of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters will become firmer, and by including those 600 militiamen who this year in Berlin can look back on a 25-year career in the workers militia the unity of national and international revolutionary traditions and those traditions which have been formed within the workers militia units will be emphasized even more. Effective work in this respect is already being performed by such units as "Robert Siewet," "Adolf Deter," "Martin Schmidt," "Erich Weinert," as well as by the unit that is striving to acquire the name "Fritz Selbmann."

In Berlin, just as in the organizations of the other Bezirke, the words apply that the general secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized in his speech to the first secretaries of the Kreise: "We will continue to pay particular attention to the workers militia. They have the constant encouragement and support of the Kreis leadership and their directories. By their high combat power and battle readiness, by their exemplary production achievements and, last but not least, by their contribution to the socialist defense education of youth the workers militiamen contribute in no mean measure to the defense and comprehensive strengthening of our socialist fatherland."

Due to the increasing importance of the workers militia in the system of socialist defense the leadership of the Bezirk and the Kreise as well as the appropriate party organs of plants and institutions are responsible for guaranteeing that at all times and in a steadily higher degree the full combat power and battle readiness of the units is assured.

Based on the decisions of the Central Committee regarding the training of the workers militia from 1977 to 1980, we can draw the first conclusions from the achievements to date. We can conclude that the units of the workers militia in the capital of the GDR in close cooperation with the comrades of the People's Police have further increased their combat power and battle readiness. Thus the artillery practice of 1977 was rated "very good." During the antiaircraft artillery practice in June of 1978 all units improved their ratings by one point. All units proved in field conditions that the men, NCO's and commanders are at all times capable of solving the tasks associated with rapid deployment of units, encampment in field conditions, fulfillment of tactical requirements and firing under battle conditions.

The striving toward further improvements, especially regarding the increase in combat power and battle readiness is visibly expressed in the goals of the 1978 competition. In connection with the preparations for the 25th anniversary of the workers militia and the 30th anniversary of the GDR, we can conclude today that the number of individual and collective obligations has increased considerably as compared to last year. Again it has been proven that universally high results are obtained primarily at places where intensive political work is pursued under the leadership of party organizations and where the units can develop in a stable and effective manner.

The secretariat of the Berlin Bezirk of the SED is aware that in spite of all progress and success in the development of the workers militia in the capital there are still differences in the level of combat training and thus in combat power. The elimination of these inexcusable differences requires that the achievements of the best units become the yardstick for all units, and that this task be pursued with particular attention.

As a result of the continuous leadership function of our party the quality and the influence on the masses of the defense-political work of the workers

militia has further improved. In more and more plants the comrades militiamen, NCO's and commanders influence the premilitary training of the youth, support, together with reservist collectives the recruiting teams of the FDJ, and fulfill defense-political tasks in workers collectives. Valuable experience has been collected in these fields in the VEB Kuehlautomat, the VEB Bergmann-Borsig, the Kombinat EAW Treptow, the VEB Elektrokohle, the transformer plant "Karl Liebknecht" and other plants.

Using differentiated and convincing agitation and propaganda, members of the workers militia are more than ever before exerting influence on the development of socialist defense consciousness and the formulation of stable socialist defensive tasks among youth and all toilers. This is particularly possible since the workers militia of the working class has proven itself an important tempering mill for the training of socialist personalities and communist behavior. There are many examples to show how members of the workers militia are at the head of the socialist competition to fulfill successfully the campaign goals drafted by the Ninth Congress of the SED. The militiamen are initiators and pacesetters for innovation. Thousands of militiamen are multifold activists of socialist labor.

In plant newspapers, over loudspeakers, on bulletin boards and on the "avenues of the best" portraits of those comrades militiamen are popularized who have distinguished themselves by high production achievements and by the fulfillment of the military tasks of the working class. Thus the members of the plants are informed in a concrete manner of the exemplary action of those communists who daily strive for high production achievements in brigades and plant collectives and who by their voluntary action in the service of the country's defense, accomplished in addition to their daily work, constitute a living tie to all that we create in our socialist fatherland and in the community of the fraternal socialist countries, and what has to be jointly defended.

Thus the ties between the plant collectives and their workers militia members are becoming ever closer. Numerous units of the workers militia in the capital are also in constant contact with schools in order that youth may be acquainted with the idea and content of the military policy of the SED and to instill in youth the idea that the GDR is worthy of defense. In informal conversations and forums with the young soldiers of the Berlin guard regiment and by participating in such festive occasions as the festive transfer of arms and the oath-taking, commanders of the units of the workers militia of the Kreis central Berlin demonstrate not only their attachment to the young soldiers but they also show by their own example that service with weapon in hand is an honorable duty.

Particularly cordial is the development of the close ties of friendship and comradeship to units of the Soviet army. Many battalions and hundreds of workers militia cultivate in the same manner as the comrades of the NVA and other armed organs cordial relations to the "regiment next door." With this

reinforced idea of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, an idea that intimately includes friendship to the Soviet Union, members of the workers militia of the working class will prove revolutionary vigilance also in the future. They know that the defense of the socialist fatherland and the socialist community will remain an objective law of the socialist revolution as long as imperialism exists and, moreover, when at this very moment forces of reaction and militarism are yearning to torpedo detente, to force an arms race and to drag the world back into a period of "cold war."

The units of the workers militia of the working class in the capital of the GDR are aware of the national and international obligation to act as respected formations of the defense alliance of the Warsaw Pact and to further strengthen the defensive posture of the GDR and, in accordance with their oath, to defend reliably socialism at any hour together with all the armed organs of the worker and peasant state, in an indivisible alliance with the glorious Soviet army.

In preparation for their 25th anniversary the units of the workers militia have reviewed their competition programs designed in honor of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, in order that even higher achievements in daily work and in the fulfillment of their military tasks may be presented to our socialist fatherland. They are ready to proclaim emphatically in their grand parade to be held in Berlin on the occasion of their 25th anniversary that the defense of socialism rests in strong hands.

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CSO: 2300



EAST GERMANY

HONECKER, STOPH GREET DPRK COUNTERPARTS ON ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Sep 78 p 1 AU

[Apparent text of greetings message from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, and Willi Stoph, SED Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman, to their DPRK counterparts on DPRK National Day: "Telegram to the representatives of the friendly country: Congratulations to the DPRK on the 30th Anniversary"]

[Text] To Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party (KWP) DPRK president; Comrade Yi Chong-Ok, chairman of the DPRK Council of Ministers, Pyongyang

Esteemed Comrades: On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the DPRK's founding, we convey the most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings to you, the KWP Central Committee, the Central People's Committee and to the Council of Ministers and DPRK people on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, Council of Ministers and people.

Under the leadership of the KWP, the DPRK people have successfully repelled imperialist aggression against the young DPRK and, leaning on the firm solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, have achieved great successes in the struggle for building socialism and in consolidating its international positions.

The GDR people sincerely rejoice at the impressive successes achieved by the Korean Working People in establishing a socialist industrial state with a developed agriculture and congratulates them on these successes from the bottom of the heart.

Be assured that the GDR, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, fully and entirely supports the aspirations of the Korean people to insure a durable peace in Korea, for the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and for the unification of their homeland.

We are firmly convinced that the fraternal relations of friendship and co-operation between our two parties, states and peoples will further develop and consolidate on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the joint struggle against imperialism and international reaction for the victory of socialism in the future.

We wish you, esteemed comrades, and the DPRK people from the bottom of our hearts new, great successes in socialist construction, as well as in the struggle for the just cause of the Korean people.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2300

## BRIEFS

NEW BERLIN KOMMANDANT--Berlin--Maj Gen Karl-Heinz Drews has been appointed city kommandant of the GDR capital, Berlin, as of 1 September. The previous city kommandant, Lt Gen Arthur Kunath has been relieved of his post and leaves active service to retire. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the State Council and of the GDR National Defense Council, has conferred the Scharnhorst Order on him in recognition of his long years of exceptional merits. Maj Gen Karl-Heinz Drews was born on 22 December 1929, in Stettin. He comes from a worker's family. He went to primary and secondary school and was an agricultural worker from 1945-1948. In 1948, he joined the German people's police. Since the establishment of the National People's Army in 1956, he has held responsible posts and played a significant part in educating and training class-conscious military cadres. He is a graduate of the Military Academy of the General Staff of the armed forces of the USSR and his last post was military, naval and air force attache at the GDR embassy in the USSR. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0307 GMT 1 Sep 78 LD]

HONECKER MESSAGE TO PDRY LEADER--On Wednesday (13 September) Ernst-Peter Rabenhorst, GDR ambassador to the PDRY, handed a message from Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council, to Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the United National Front political organization. Abd al-Fattah Isma'il expressed his thanks and appreciated the constant deepening of the militant solidarity which links the GDR and PDRY peoples. He conveyed most cordial greetings to Erich Honecker and underscored that the cooperation between the United Front Political Organization and the SED is based on a solid, unshakeable foundation. On the same day Rabenhorst handed a shipment of solidarity goods of the GDR and FDGB Solidarity Committee to Salim Salih Muhammad, secretary for international relations of the Central Committee of the United Front Political Organization and secretary of the PDRY committee for peace and solidarity. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Sep 78 p 1 AU]

PORTUGUESE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT DELEGATION--The delegation of the Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP/CDE) which under the leadership of Blasco Hugo Fernandes, member of the secretariat of the MDP/CDE national leadership, paid a visit of several days to the GDR, was received on Friday (15 Sep) for a final talk at the National Council of the GDR national front. In Suhl Bezirk the delegation studied the multifaceted initiatives of the national front committees in preparation for the 30th GDR anniversary. In the talks the Portuguese guests reported on the topical tasks resulting from the third MDP/CDE congress. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16-17 Sep 78 p 2 AU]

SOLIDARITY SHIPMENT TO MOZAMBIQUE--On Wednesday (13 Sep) more than 50 tons of solidarity goods from the GDR for the People's Republic of Mozambique were unloaded in Maputo. The solidarity goods--tents, sports articles, shoes and movie projectors for elementary and secondary schools--were financed through gifts from the GDR people, particularly FDGB members. At the festive presentation Vinancio Nauva, member of the national cabinet for building the FRELIMO party, stressed the selfless GDR assistance to the Mozambique people in the difficult years of the armed struggle. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Sep 78 p 2 AU]

JOURNALISTS TO ITALY--Genoa--ADN Correspondent--A delegation of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the organ of the SED Central Committee, headed by Deputy Editor in Chief Dr Hajo Herbell, arrived in Genoa to take part in the National Press Festival of UNITA. [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1512 GMT 16 Sep 78 LD]

INCREASE IN MARRIAGES--For the past 10 years the inclination on the part of GDR citizens to marry has constantly increased, whereas in 1967 117,146 couples said "yes" to marriage, last year 147,402 couples exchanged rings. Business was particularly brisk at the Registrar's offices of Rostock Bezirk where the highest figure was recorded with 10.1 weddings per 1,000 residents. Next came Neubrandenburg Bezirk with 9.4 marriages and Schwerin with 9.4 marriages per 1,000 residents. While in January some 5,000 weddings were recorded, more than 17,000 couples were married this May. The average marriage age is now 21 for women and 23 for men. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Sep 78 p 1 AU]

CSO: 2300

ATTITUDE OF YOUNGER GENERATION DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29-30 Apr 78 p 3

[Article by Waldemar Mickiewicz]

[Text] Each generation makes its own imprint on the pages of its country's history. This individual character results from the differences in the nature of historical destiny for each generation. In using the category of generations, one should also state that no generation is isolated from the past or future.

Looking from the perspective of more than 30 years of the history of People's Poland, one can distinguish three characteristic kinds of tasks and three generations realizing them, as has been already noted in many scientific publications. These are as follows:

The generation of the creators of Peoples' Poland: This generation entered adulthood during the Second Republic or during World War II.

The first generation of builders of socialist Poland: This includes those age groups who entered the productive age in the period of rebuilding the country and establishing the industrial framework. We frequently called it the middle or ZMP generation.

The generation of contemporaries of People's Poland: the youngest generation of builders which was brought up and educated after the war.

I do not intend to make a specific generation division in the above differentiation. I partly treat it as a convenience for discussion purposes. However, I would like to stress clearly that regardless of the tasks and peculiarities of the periods in which each generation made its greatest contribution to Poland's development, all these generations are linked by an inter-generation unity whose foundation is our socialist ideology, the goals of building socialism and the welfare of Poland.

At the present time, the ZMP generation has special tasks to perform.

We adopted this designation [of "ZMP generation"], one which is also used by scientists. Bronislaw Golebiowski, in the essay "The ZMP Generation" published in the book "Chances of Youth," writes among other things that "this generation has developed a particular bond symbolized to some extent by the socio-cultural processes accompanying the six-year plans and defining the further life destiny for millions of individuals." He includes in this generation the 1928-1937 age groups, thus those who were 7-17 years old at the end of the war. Those are the age groups which built the foundation for socialism in our country and which experienced universal advancement. Thus these age groups, members of the ZMP, brought out of this organization a tremendous amount of idealism, patriotism and fortitude of work and service for Poland.

What is the present role of this generation in the life of our country? Answering this question with a certain simplification, one can say that its role is to introduce and instill into the conscience of our society three basic values, or in other words, perhaps imprecisely, an ethos of education and studying, professional competence and work efficiency in action and service to society.

This generation participated in the process of educational revolution connected with the building of an industrial base. Its own position was closely tied to raising the level of education and qualifications. It lived in the period of the greatest demand for committed, qualified cadres. Each day it was made aware of the relationship between the level of qualifications and social-professional advancement. The same generation lived through a period where the policy "sincere intentions without a secondary education would suffice" was being abandoned. On the other hand, this generation linked its fate and position with sociopolitical activism and a natural involvement in public and other affairs. It did not avoid political struggle, and, even more, it had to participate in political struggle, to be for something and at the same time against something.

How is the ZMP generation distinguished from the previous generation and the generations born in People's Poland?

Unlike the creators of People's Poland, this generation of Poles received a comparatively high level of education. It took advantage of a broad front in the development of science and education which was the first important front created in socialist Poland. Moreover, by participating in the process of solving particular problems in building socialism, it developed a practical attitude towards life. It has the best knowledge of the functioning of true socialism. For this generation, socialism is not just a socially valid thought or an ideological concept; it is first of all an effective way to solve the present problems in building socialism in which the development of Poland and the welfare of the nation constitute the most important goals.

A high level of education of the entire generation and a great practical experience of all its age groups contribute to solving these problems.

However, the ZMP generation is linked to the previous generation by the emotional and intellectual unity of goals arising from socialist ideology. They are also linked together by the joint struggle for victory of the goals of a new socioeconomic system and by many years of participation in building the country. This generation shares with the previous one a common "historical memory." This means, among other things, that it knows firsthand the problems of Poland's development, that changes of enormous scope and unparalleled speed took place in front of its eyes. The first and second generations were directly involved in the current of those changes. Therefore, "the historical memory" includes similar experiences such as the misery of war, the enthusiasm of gaining independence, difficulties in the struggle for a new social order and difficulties of daily living in a devastated country. Figuratively speaking, one might say that these two generations emerged from the same historical "matter."

On the other hand, the most characteristic traits which the middle and contemporary generation of People's Poland have in common are a practical attitude towards social problems, a high level of education and an awareness of the importance of work and professional competence in the world rivalry of nations.

There are also essential differences between these two generations. One generation experienced no hunger; it has access to education, to social security, to full employment and similar things. All those things are available like the air without any exertion. This generation simply feels that it has a right to them. For the other generation the same values were the subject of struggle. They constituted a motive for uniting and organizing. If, for one generation, these accomplishments are a natural product of socialism simply to be used, then, for the other, they are values won in the struggle and are the result of earlier endeavors. And these achievements might not be assured in conditions other than those created by a socialist country.

It seems that differences in attitudes also arise from these factors. One generation is characterized by aggressiveness towards reality, by faith that all problems can be solved, by awareness that one has to fight for each cause which constitutes progress and that this struggle will be more difficult when the cause constitutes a greater progress in relation to the existing state of affairs. This progress does not come automatically; there are always forces interested in impeding it. Such an attitude is natural and understandable to the middle generation. It simply results from its destiny.

The second attitude is characterized by expectation of perfect conditions, of constant, visible and automatic progress and, in addition, progress individually felt. This is connected with an attitude of expectations rather than aggressiveness, of complaining rather than undertaking a struggle and the responsibility for its results. As one can guess, this attitude is characterized by insufficient skills to use sociopolitical mechanisms to achieve progress.

The generation born after the war is more inclined to a critical view of reality. On the other hand, the middle generation is milder in its criticism because, by understanding better the mechanisms of sociopolitical and economic life, it is aware of how complicated the processes of development are. It seems that the more critical outlook of the youngest generation also results from more extensive teaching programs in schools and universities and from wider contacts with foreign countries.

However, these two generations are linked by the fact that neither of them can imagine a system other than socialism for the development of Poland.

We frequently encounter a simplified view that the present generation entering the productive age faces life with almost no problems. But a closer look shows quite the opposite, that the contemporary generation of People's Poland has the most difficult road in defining its generation's tasks.

The generation of creators of People's Poland had the simplest way of clarifying tasks: it was necessary to gain independence and to build a just social order in the country. This meant a struggle with the invader and a struggle for a new world. These were enormous tasks which could be undertaken only after many years of prior preparation in the revolutionary movement. However, they were such immense tasks that they required total emotional and intellectual involvement. They prepared a psychosocial climate favorable to collective action and social rights; they justified personal sacrifices.

The middle generation also had conditions for unequivocal choices: to build a new type of state which would be the answer to the misery encountered by the country before and during the occupation. It had to build an industrial country with strong political and military alliances; a country with a just distribution of goods and universal education. After all this was the dream of many previous generations of Poles. How could one not accept such tasks as one's own? How could one not become fascinated by their magnitude?

These tasks are easier to accept because things are happening which until recently seemed unattainable, such as division of landowner's land, nationalization of enterprises and their fast rebuilding, and elimination of hunger and unemployment. This shows the enormous possibilities inherent in the new socioeconomic system. Thus the level of satisfying basic social needs is rising rapidly, even in conditions of a devastated country. The process of educating and swiftly stamping out illiteracy is developing rapidly.

The generation entering adulthood is joining in this process with all its heart and mind. This generation, like the generation of creators of People's Poland, can, through its own experiences in life, compare the postwar reality with the situation of the nation in the prewar, war and occupation periods. And this is its enormous asset; this is also its unusually strong motivation for a collective effort in building the Poland it dreamed about.



The generation born in People's Poland, brought up and educated in this new reality treats it as something that always existed, that is natural and deserved. It knows the most difficult and crucial moments of the nation's past from family reminiscences and history. It is hardly aware of the rebuilding period. The previous two generations received their citizen's education in the most difficult periods for the nation. Therefore, it is easier for them to be unequivocal in their criticism and evaluation. Fortunately for the contemporary generation of People's Poland, it did not have such opportunities.

What is the specific nature of the direction of this generation?

First: Placing a high value mainly on the perfection in the functioning of the existing system, it is paralyzed. Sometimes it has no concept of the tasks of a generation and individuals, since it lacks a developed fighting spirit towards life and it lacks experience.

Second: Improving the system is a task which is always more arduous, difficult and less attractive than building it from the start. It is not so easy to involve the entire generation and individuals in the historical process as it was under revolutionary and extreme conditions. In some youth groups, one observes a superficiality in performing tasks. There is a tendency to accept those tasks which bring immediate effects. And sometimes this creates an atmosphere which favors consumer-oriented and hedonistic attitudes.

Third: This is the generation which has taken the greatest advantage of the opening of extensive contacts of our country with the world. Not having personal experience or personal historical perspective, it mainly takes note of those differences which exist between Poland and the most highly developed countries of the world. Its ambitious comparison of our country with the United States, the FRG, Sweden or Japan is most characteristic. Comparisons with such countries as France or Great Britain are considerably less attractive, although those countries have rich industrial traditions. To say nothing of comparison with countries which had a similar start. Unfortunately this type of comparison does not always lead to a release of additional energy and a desire to overcome the gap. Sometimes it creates an atmosphere of discouragement and it induces youth to take care of its own most personal matters.

In short, it seems that one can risk a thesis that this difficulty which our youth has in finding its generation's ethos, demands of us a better presentation of the prospects and problems of our country's development. We should relate this generation's experience to developmental paths. It seems that one of them is to stress the importance of education and studying. This path is not only well known from experience and widely accepted in our society, but it is also the most effective way of shaping the modern living and working conditions of our society at the end of the twentieth century. Finally, it is the way of improving society and individuals. It opens possibilities for a particularly rich spiritual life and self-realization. It is also the main road for accelerating the rate of humanizing work and for achieving the creative function of work.

POLAND

KREISKY'S REMARKS ON BEGIN, ISRAEL DISCUSSED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 16 Sep 78 p 13 AU

[Article by Jerzy Urban: "Austria--The Background of the Scandal"]

[Text] I wish to discuss a third-rate political clash that occurred on the eve of the Camp David conference, because its ideological significance is more important than second-class. This clash has stimulated my affection for Bruno Kreisky.

Kreisky, Austrian chancellor and leader of the Austrian Socialists--whom the Austrian press, friendly to him, has called a modern Francis Joseph because of his enormous authority and goodness--is, it is true, ideologically a tough anticommunist, but at the same time he pursues a realistic and strongly coexistential policy. The status of Austria, which belongs to no bloc, and the chancellor's unusually strong position within the country and his brilliant intelligence have made it more possible for Kreisky than for other politicians to speak his mind openly on occasions without paying heed to diplomatic niceties.

On 2 September the chancellor gave an interview to the Dutch daily TROUW on the Middle East conflict and on Israel's attitude. He said that, following his visit to Jerusalem, Sadat "had to admit that he had had to deal with political grocers such Begin, an insignificant Polish lawyer from Warsaw or whatever he is..." Israel's proneness to incorporating Arab territories, Kreisky continued, results in an increase of the Arab population in Israel, and this presents a potential powderkeg of enormous explosive power. He said: "Only the people with fascist mentality are unable to comprehend this.... One cannot believe in the existence of a democratic state of Israel if the Arabs are second-class citizens and if they have to live in a police state.... All the people who want to retain west Jordan or, as chauvinists call it, Judea and Samaria, must have been struck by God with blindness.... We are fighting against apartheid in South Africa. How much longer before we take up the struggle against the apartheid in Israel?"

The entire statement, transfused with sympathy for the Arab cause and with antipathy for the Begin government's imperial [imperialna] policy, was full of caustic remarks, which are not the usual fare of the head of the government of a neutral country. Kreisky said that it was grotesque that "everyone is a general" in Israel, and he noted that Israeli diplomats are hated people.

This was not Kreisky's first statement or move that has caused an unusually sharp reaction in Israel and in certain Jewish communities. The particularly sensitive response to Kreisky's actions is rooted in the fact that Kreisky is of pure Jewish origins, and this is why the Israelis call him a renegade.

In 1973 the Kriesky government refused compensation for the Israelis who had at one time been persecuted by nazism in Austria, arguing that Austria was not an heir to but a victim of the Third Reich. In the fall of the same year, Kreisky succumbed, supposedly willingly, to Arab commandoes' pressure and liquidated a transit camp in Austria for emigrants to Israel.

Because the Austrian Socialists did not like the activities of Simon Wiesenthal, head of the Jewish documentation center in Vienna--Wiesenthal's task was to hunt down war criminals, but in a way that would benefit Israel's contemporary policy--Kreisky in 1974 publicly suggested that the notorious Wiesenthal had supposedly had contacts with the Gestapo. Court proceedings for slander were but a hair's breadth away, and the outcome of the incident was that Wiesenthal had to give up his attempts to interfere in Austria's internal affairs.

In April 1976, Kreisky visited the Middle East as head of the information mission sent out by the Socialist International. At a press conference afterward, he demanded that Israel withdraw from the Arab territories occupied since 1967. He said the Arabs wanted to recognize Israel, did not deny its right to existence, and did not demand even the 1947-48 borders awarded to Israel by the United Nations and later willfully expanded during the war at that time. Kreisky's government was the first in Western Europe to allow the PLO to set up an office in Vienna, thus proving at least his understanding of the national and state aspirations of the Palestinian Arabs.

Kreisky's interview in TROUW has unleashed a storm. The Israeli Government has protested, and so has the Israeli press. What is more, the possibility of recalling the Israeli ambassador from Vienna has been considered. Various Jewish communes and organizations have issued protests. The Central Jewish Council in Germany has called Kreisky a chauvinist and so on. In Tel Aviv, a wall of the demolished premises of the Austrian airlines was smeared with the inscription: "Kreisky is a swine." Two Austrian civil servants of Jewish origin have resigned in protest.

During all this upheaval, the chancellor gave two more interviews. In one of them he maintained his political theses, renouncing some of the ad personam statements published by TROUW as being out of context or not meant for publication. In his second interview, given to the Israeli evening paper MA'ARIV, he maintained his views and credited Israelis with intolerance and a "dreadful ghetto mentality."

Kreisky's political position on the Middle East question, which he has articulated with gusto, would not have gained even one-tenth of the publicity it has received if he were not of Jewish origin. Israel professes the doctrine, shared by the Jewish organizations of the "diaspora" that support Israeli policy, that each person of Jewish origin should sympathize with the state of Israel and even back the policy of the Israeli Government or else be a traitor and a swine. This doctrine is closely related to the anti-Semitic view that regards every Jew an Israeli agent or an alien body within the national community of which a person of Jewish origin is a permanent member because his forefathers were. Like anti-Semitism, Zionism makes a myth out of blood relations, regarding as secondary what is of primary significance for national identity: domicile, culture, language, religion or absence of religion, and identity of destiny and tradition. On the other hand, Zionism attaches importance to primordial origins, genesis, race, and other such intangible, mythical, or invalid factors.

Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, Austria's leader--at whose sight, as the West German SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG wrote on 2 October 1975, Austrians "...sing their national ahtnem"--this very Kreisky made an extensive statement on his attitude regarding his origins. In 1973, in an interview given to the Israeli daily YEDI'OT AHARONOT, he said: "I feel an Austrian. Israel is a country of those Jews who have no other fatherland.... He who denies me the right not to regard myself a Jew is intolerant."

In November 1975, in an interview given to Israeli TV, Kreisky said that in his view there is no Jewish nation, but only a religious community, which has become a community of destiny. On the other hand, there is an Israeli nation in Israel. Generally speaking, Kreisky regards separate statehood as the main force that creates a nation, and from this conviction (confirmed by contemporary history of the so-called third world) he deduces the view, professed by his party, that Austrians are not part of the German nation but a separate Austrian nation. As a person of religious views, Kreisky does not regard himself as being in religious community with the Jews, but he is not ashamed of his origin and does not conceal it. On the contrary, he emphasizes it. In his MA'ARIV interview, he said that if one does not support whatever Israel does, "one is a traitor, an enemy of Israel, and an outcast of the Jewish community."

The Israeli press has magnified the circumstances of the Austrian chancellor's origins. In a statement to the press, Kollek, the mayor of Jerusalem, who was born in Vienna, said that Kreisky's attack on Israel "is a case for

psychoanalysis" that is, that Kreisky can in this way overcome the burden of his Jewish origins as a politician and a man. The HA'AREZ daily wrote: "The existence of Israel as a Jewish state hinders Kreisky in the process of assimilation and stands in the way of his international socialism." The dialog with the racists is a dialog with the deaf and the blind, if for racial reasons they call genuine national identity assimilation and if they deny an individual the right to assume an identity that is not Israeli or Jewish.

The leading Egyptian daily AL-AHRAM wrote in this connection: "Were Kreisky not a Jew, he would have been called an anti-Semite." This statement has thrown into relief a somewhat strange treatment of Jewry, since the Israeli press itself has called the Austrian chancellor an anti-Semite. Moreover, that press has committed the outrage of comparing Kreisky's statements with the language used by the Third Reich.

The storm raised around Kreisky--a small one and of no crucial significance from the viewpoint of international policy--has seized my imagination because it has reminded me of my own stay some 22 years ago in Israel, where the press took an interest in my modest person. With schmaltz-like skill, that press unearthed my Jewish origin, which made my work as a Polish correspondent difficult because I was insulted as an "apostate" or a "renegade" and accused of anti-Semitism when I published my dispatches. Aside from this, I hold the same views as Kreisky on the nonexistence of the Jewish nation, on the existence of the Israeli nation in statu nascendi, on the role of state organisms in creating nations, and on the ideological identity of Jewish chauvinism with anti-Semitism. I also view my origins in exactly the same way as Kreisky. Some 22 years ago I viewed as being simply ridiculous the Israeli suggestions that I supposedly belonged to the same nation as an Israeli Yemenite, from whom everything divided me except for a nebulous term--Jew. It would be equally ridiculous to suggest that Warsaw's Rabinowicz should be closer to me than Warsaw's Szczypiorski, although the entire difference between the two boils down to a few vowels.

It was for these private reasons that I began to publicly trace the Austrian chancellor's troubles.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

BIOLOGICAL WARFARE DIAGNOSTIC RESEARCH DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Sep 78 p 3

[Article by Lt Ireneusz Czyzewski]

[Text] Epidemics are a great threat to all living creatures but primarily to man and to all human communities.

Breaking out in a time of military operations under the conditions of considerable weakened hygienic standards, epidemics multiply the threat to man. It is not necessary to prove that one of the most important factors favoring the countering of epidemics is time; time which elapses before the appropriate service determines the source of the epidemic and undertakes preventive measures. Guided first of all by the necessity for population protection, the specialist, microbiologist and epidemiologist (and the military) have begun research aimed at shortening considerably the time necessary for the identification of the sources of the contagious disease.

Years ago it was realized that on any future field of combat great importance should be given to rapid microbiologic diagnostics even though biological warfare was condemned by world public opinion and weapons of biological warfare, according to the terms of corresponding agreements, should be banned from the list of instruments of war.

Despite this, weapons for biological warfare have not yet disappeared from military arsenals--and one must also not forget about several assumptions formulated by competent specialist. For one thing ratified agreements [on biological warfare] can not relieve the antiepidemiological service, especially the military, of the responsibility for taking necessary precautions, based on the contingency that these agreements will be broken, so they shall not be helplessly facing the threat, since the enemy can make use of a variety of biological weapons, creating in effect extensive and fast spreading areas of contamination.

A second assumption obviously arises from the bioecological situation of a battle-field where nuclear weapons have been used. Considerable lowering of resistance of irradiated organisms may, in this situation, lead to spontaneous outbreaks of epidemics arising from activated natural sources of contamination.

The foregoing fully depicts the significance and the necessity of working out methods for rapid detection of biological warfare agents. The importance of this may be illustrated by another example derived from the medical expertise of the World Health Organization concerning chemical and biological weapons.

Let us assume that the water supply system of a city of 50,000 inhabitants has been contaminated with 80 kg of poisonous botulism toxins. If this sabotage is undetected for 4 and 1/2 hours the number of victims, as was calculated by the experts, would reach 10,000; if it was undetected for 5 hours the victims would reach 13,000. Whereas, after 24 hours this number will have increased to 40,000.

It can be clearly seen then that the availability of appropriate prevention and rapid microbiologic diagnostics adapted for use by mobile and stationary laboratory antiepidemic protection units, to a great extent will decide the success of defense operations. It is worth mentioning in this case that classic methods and microbiological measures cannot be applied because of their procedures for obtaining analysis and results require, under the best conditions, several days--and in certain situations even more than a week. Besides, the methods which may be proposed by classic microbiology are too complex and labor consuming to be applied under field conditions.

"System and Methods of Rapid Microbiologic Diagnostics in the Field of biological warfare agents" is the title of a monograph prepared by the authors: Colonel Professor Doctor **Jozef Kubica**; Colonel Professor Doctor Tadeusz Lachowicz and Professor Doctor Jerzy Borowski representing theoretical and practical aspects of methods of rapid diagnosis, for which the authors were honored with the 1st Class Award presented by the minister of national defense.

Guided therefore by the above stated assumptions, we undertook in our country complex research, experimental and construction works. To realize these tasks the scientist of the Military Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology joined under the guidance of Colonel Professor Doctor **Jozef Kubica**. Among other things it is worth mentioning that for some years this institute has been engaged in the problems of standardization of principles which concern the conduct of some laboratory tests under stationary and field conditions, creating a theoretical basis for the improvement of preventive vaccination and other means of preventing contagious diseases on the modern battlefield.

Leading topical groups which are the subject of interest of scientist in the institute also include the means of protection from ionizing radiation, the hygiene and physiology of work in the armed forces with particular emphasis on the problem of ergonomics in the scheme: man--modern military technology; hygiene and physiology of nourishment, as well as hygiene of the water supply for military units.

With a constant trend of undertaking the works characterized primarily by high practical usefulness for the military, valuable scientific and practical results were achieved. These include, among others, the results of investigations concerning new synthesis of antidotes for phosphoro-organic compounds; disinfection of water using iodic preparations; study of sets of ergonomic norms for certain objects of combat technique and the types of combat vehicles, composition of biomedical and psychological criteria for the purpose of selection and choice; and also new radioactive protection means. An important achievement by the institute was the preparation of a report for the United Nations Organization on the subject of chemical and biological weapons, and also the preparation of reports by many experts for the needs of civilian departments.

The works mentioned earlier gained high recognition for the specialist, many of whom were granted awards by the minister of national defense. Recently, the results of many years of work and accomplishment culminated in a study concerning the expertise of methods of microbiologic diagnosis. In appraising the study, Professor Doctor of Medicine Jan Chomiczewski of the Medical Academy in Lodz wrote:

"The study was prepared for the needs of the military anti-epidemic service; its importance, however, exceeds far beyond this framework. Every microbiologist who is interested in microbiologic diagnosis and its progress will find much valuable and practical information in this publication. Special emphasis should be given the compilation and listing, by the authors, of many of the most modern diagnostic methods, given with concise and sufficiently clear theoretical foundation. Thus this work is not only a practical guide in conducting research, but also a source of actual theoretical information. For the military health services this volume is of great importance, particularly because it gives the organization and procedure of work, almost in the form of a regulation, fulfilling the necessary requirement of standardization of diagnostic work."

Research and experimental construction works concerning simple and at the same time sensitive systems were started in 1963. Taking into account the basic requirements set for the methods of diagnosis under field conditions, which have to be done at maximum speed to obtain reliable results, of the many options, the system based on immunofluorescence was selected; that is certain types of reactions and biological tests on animals whose susceptibility to infection had been artificially raised. It was subsequently adapted for rapid detection of biological warfare agents including plague, anthrax and cholera.



The accomplishment of this difficult task required the undertaking of a wide range of basic research in the sphere of immunofluorescence and particularly techniques of chemical synthesis of certain dyes, which until recently had been unknown in this country, as well as methods of their fixation with raw materials for the detection of germs and poisons. Results obtained were repeatedly analyzed and discussed among native and foreign microbiologists in order to finally obtain acceptance of the proposed system as a standard norm in the field of microbiologic diagnostics performed by rapid methods.

"The system of diagnosis," states Colonel Professor Doctor Jozef Kubica, "came into being as a result of many years of work by numerous teams of specialists. After making thorough studies of partial problems, we evaluated them and made the necessary modifications so that the applied methods could be used under field conditions, because this, after all, is one of the most important features that predetermines its use by the military. Whereas at present, because the civilian health service is interested in rapid methods of microbiological diagnosis, we are presently at the stage of modification of the system for civilian requirements as well as for the requirements for civil defense."

So much for the subject of the contents of the study which was honored by an award of the minister of national defense. It is time then for the presentation of its authors, about whom the already cited Professor Chomiczewski wrote that these are the persons "who are the most competent in this sphere and who for years were interested in the problem of rapid diagnosis."

The work of the team was guided by Colonel Professor Doctor Jozef Kubica, a known specialist immunologist, the author of many theoretical and practical works in this field and in related fields. The second member of the awarded team is Colonel Professor Doctor Tadeusz Lachowicz, the director of one of the branches of the institute, a microbiologist and specialist in the field of bacteriological diagnostics. Professor Lachowicz is the author of more than a hundred experimental works in the field of microbiology.

The Military Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology in the realization of research themes for many years cooperated with many civilian scientific institutions. This is also true in the case of the work under discussion, because the third member of the prize-winning team is Professor Doctor Jerzy Borowski, chairman of the Commission of Medical Microbiology of the Committee of Microbiology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, chief of the Institute of Biostructure of the Medical Academy in Bialystok, the author of about a hundred scientific works.

It is difficult not to emphasize the way in which this competent and experienced team accomplished its work, since the authors lend it an instructive character. They did not limit themselves to only presenting the scientific aspects of rapid microbiological diagnostics, but they created a sort of

work manual indispensable for the organizer of field laboratories and an instruction of activities of their personnel. Beside a review of the latest achievements in the field of mechanization and automation of investigations, methods of increasing the susceptibility of animals to contagious agents, we find in the study the data on the subject of organization of microbiological investigations in military laboratories, detailed presentation of principles in collecting materials and their preparation for investigations and also the conducting of investigations using rapid methods.

The study also contains necessary information on the subject of organization and the extent of activity of the laboratory, allocation of personnel and resources, approximate numbers of samples subjected to investigations in field sanitary-epidemiological laboratories. An appropriate chapter was devoted also to the regulations of safety and hygiene of work, the principles of internal order in the laboratory and procedure in case of an accident during handling of contagious material.

Precisely, due to the matter of its clarity, the treatment of the scientific problem in an exhaustive practical extent, this study may serve as a good example of scientific answer to the concrete needs of the armed forces and civilian health services.

#### PHOTO CAPTION

Col Prof Dr Jozef Kubica and assistant Joanna Boguslawska view the progress of radio-active measurements of biological preparations.

5238

CSO: 2600

POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS SEEN

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German No 8, Aug 78 pp 14-15

[Text] At the expanded session of the International Continuing Committee of the Berlin Conference in May 1978 in Warsaw Jerzy Smiechowski, head of the foreign department of the Pax Association in Poland, reported on the most recent developments in relations between the church and state in his country. We are publishing the following summary.

In relations between church and state in Poland we have noted positive developments of far-reaching significance in the past few months. We are thinking here especially of those events whose high points were the meetings of First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Edward Gierek, with the Primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, and with Pope Paul VI.

We consider these events to be on the one hand the result of the practical experiences of the Polish Church and the fruit of a strategic change in direction being taken by the Apostolic See in its relations with socialist countries, a change which can be described as its Ostpolitik, as well as the result of the active role of Vatican diplomacy in encouraging international detente and world peace; on the other hand they are considered the expression of efforts by Poland's political leadership to maintain and strengthen the moral and political unity of the nation, and to eliminate tensions, as well as an expression of its high regard for the church's contribution towards the establishment of social morals, the formations of positive attitudes in the lives of individuals, families, and at work and in the formation of the spiritual aspect of national culture.

Besides currently motivating factors we must not forget the evolution in relations between church and state during the 33-year history of the Polish people, including the 1950 and 1956 attempts to reach agreements. In general it can be stated that history has burdened mutual relations with conflicts and mistakes. Both sides however have made efforts to come to terms with the inheritance of the past. On the part of the church this resulted from the historical encyclicals and initiatives of Pope John XXIII, then through the Council and finally through those efforts which Pope Paul VI continued in the same spirit. The spirit of the Council also permeated the

church in Poland and made it possible, based on the practical experiences of the Polish Church, to formulate the new line. The state for its part since December 1970 began to draw a line under the above-mentioned historical inheritance of conflicts. The result was a general rapprochement of positions.

The PAX movement rendered a valuable contribution to this development, which was full of hesitations and difficulties, but which on the whole nevertheless reduced conflicts. We have helped to find a *modus vivendi*; we have expanded the social basis of agreement, by appropriately influencing the consciousness of the clergy and the laity, carried on a continuous dialogue with the Marxists, and presented suggestions and wishes to the state officials.

The already historic changes which have taken place in mutual relationships as well as the seriousness of intent which both sides--independent of current pragmatic motives--make it reasonable to conclude that the results of the rapprochement will be positive and longlasting. This of course requires that still existent problems, postulates and expectations of the church and Catholics, as well as the postulates and expectations of state officials, be gradually solved and fulfilled.

We are consciously and resolutely uniting PAX's work in this area with the task of convincing public opinion of the long-range development of an intensification of the mutual dependency between the normalization of church-state relations and the solution of other national problems. PAX as an organization of Catholics with an ideological and political character acknowledges through its ideological and politically creative, as well as practical activities, the mutual dependency of the two spheres and political sphere. It demands that Catholicism in Poland, as well as the activities of Catholics, be treated as part of the potential of our national resources and not just as a strictly religious or confessional value.

We have consistently represented this opinion for years, attesting to the mutual dependency between the durability of the institutional agreement between church and state and the progress of democracy in questions of ideology, within the framework of the development of socialist democracy. The secular character of the state means--in our opinion--that the state should be neither atheistic nor theistic. The interests of the country and the development of socialist practice, however, demand that the multiplicity of sources be ideological inspiration which influence Polish citizens should be utilized. The present-day situation clearly emphasizes this standpoint as the task for today and for the future.

We believe that one must continuously explore the ramifications of the pluralist, ideological character of the association of Christians and Marxists in the life of the nation, in the schools and in education. Dialog and cooperation, as well as polemic and differences of opinion which result from differences in ideology must operate in such a way as to strengthen the vitality of generally acknowledged values in our present day society and at the same time oppose the commonly felt threats to these

values in the minds of today's citizens. We clearly support the positive value of cooperation, not just tolerance, which often means acting as one would with a troublesome neighbor in order to have a little peace.

For some time now we have been noticing statements of far-ranging significance and very influential events. While all this was recently taking place in the relationship between church and state, those commonly acknowledged values such as the welfare of the family, the duty to serve one's country, the social and intellectual value of work, cooperation within the framework of combating pathological elements in society were all emphasized. In this way a popular social movement is developing in Poland striving toward developing a stable, intellectual documented basis for cooperation---full of openness and honesty on both sides. It is not enough in this case to repeat abstract formulas, rather one must concentrate on universal norms verified in daily life.

8537

CSO: 2300

PROGRESSIVE RESTALINIZATION OF POLAND OBSERVED

Paris KULTURA in Polish No 9, Sep 78 pp 20-28

[Article by Ryszard Jagla: "Constant Restalinization"]

[Text] Carter's Presidency, which is very controversial in the West, is judged with more good will in the societies living under Soviet pressure. Probably for the first time in 33 years the Soviets have found themselves politically on the defensive. The Carter program of struggle for human rights above all has brought this about. In an ideal manner the program hit upon the needs of the societies of Eastern Europe and coincided with the sharp manifestations of the crisis in the Communist system, thus leading to a strengthening of the opposition movements.

Carter's attempt to oppose Soviet expansion, in which Angola played, I suppose, the decisive role, had no less psychological significance for the people of the countries of Eastern Europe. The shock called forth by Cuban aggression in Angola must have made the Russians realize that further expansion will not go unpunished, and their joint achievements with the Cubans in Africa finally stirred the West and above all the USA from their astounding immobility and from their comfortable, but short-sighted, lethargy.

The Russians, however, are very well aware of the instability of the policy of the USA, which is evident especially in the armaments area, which is for the Soviets, as usual, the most important but also the most delicate. The matter with the most significance here, the matter of the neutron weapon, which would even out the significance of Soviet armor superiority in Europe, laid bare the weakness and instability not only of the USA but also of its Western allies. Their military specialists first accepted the neutron weapon program, only to have the politicians then have to withdraw loudly from it in fear of internal political tremors. Finally the matter was put off and, as it seems, the major risk of the decision was thrown onto Carter. But in the USA there are conflicting tendencies in the area of foreign and defense policy. The neutron bomb is, naturally, an evil in itself, as is every new weapon which extends the armaments spiral. But since disarmament efforts do not bring more serious successes, beyond their own kind of registration of the ceilings reached by both sides, this new neutron element in the armaments spiral which would even out the

superiority of one of the sides, could under certain circumstances be safer than continuation of a lack of balancing of forces. There is no way for any wise person easily to agree to the introduction of new weapons, but in the final analysis everyone knows that the Russians provoke it while the West finds itself in a position of having to counteract. Although all these matters are hidden by a certain margin of military secrecy, nevertheless one does not have to be a military expert to realize that America, if it does not at the present time balance the power of its military forces with the Soviets, will bear the consequences of it and will stand in some confrontation imposed by an emboldened adversary.

Maybe Carter demands too much from the West and from his own society, both of which have fallen into quietism, and will as a result lose the next election, but no future leader of American policy will be able to evade the problems which the current Administration has faced. Beyond issues of armament policy and the need for opposition against the further expansionism of the Soviets, to the fore come the matter of using the Chinese card in world politics and the solidarity with the USA of its European and Japanese allies.

All these are open problems, and it is precisely they which will decide the future course of events in the world. The Soviets have acknowledged the insolubility of these matters, according to their own ideas, as a departure from the policy of coexistence and as a return to the policy of the cold war, although the West basically has not yet picked its line and, as one can suspect, will weave about and seek half-measures and compromises.

The Soviets, however, have recognized that we have entered into a period of international tension and, having restraints put upon them in their expansionist endeavors, they are concentrating on a great propaganda campaign in a peaceful spirit in order to hamper the West's freedom of maneuver and to cloud the picture of the truth before the eyes of general public opinion. Which successive time after the war? At the same time the Russians govern with an ever harder hand in the countries dependent on them, justifying this to the satellite governments by the threat resulting from the international situation. Besides, the Soviets are unfailing in this respect, because the relaxation of the international situation, and especially the period after the conference in Helsinki, were also exploited to tighten the screw of pressure on the satellite countries. It was, after all, then that the constitutions in the countries of Eastern Europe were changed, guaranteeing communist governments by constitutional right and making these countries dependent on the USSR also by the letter of the constitution. In Poland this was carried through in the least consistent manner because of the spontaneous opposition of society, and especially of the intellectuals and the Catholic Church.

An undoubtable conclusion, however, does come forth from the post-war development of the international situation: we can count only upon ourselves, at least while the present arrangement of power in the world, which limits to

a minimum the effective pressure of the West, and especially of the USA, on Moscow and the satellite governments, persists.

All loosening of the oppression of society by the Soviet system in Poland to date came about not as a result of the pressure of the international situation, but as a result of the pressure of society, before which the governments in Warsaw and their principals in Moscow had to retreat. Thus it was successively in 1956 (Poznan and the October breakthrough), in 1968 (student riots), in 1970 (the bloody events in the coastal region), and in 1976 (the disturbances in Radom and Ursus and the general strike in the country). The current situation, however, differs from previous ones in this respect, that the pressure of society on those who are governing has not ceased since the June events of 1976. We have an entirely new situation with which to deal, from which there are only two solutions. Either the party will once again return to the road of terror in order to shatter oppositional currents or it will decide to make real concessions to society.

It is generally known that Gierek would not want either of these two solutions and that he attempts by selective half-terror to tire and dishearten the opposition movement. It is known also that in Russia, in view of the unavoidably approaching departure of Brezhnev, hawks and the hard line are getting the upper hand. Clear Soviet pressure upon the Polish party to decide finally on sharper steps has come into view. In circles close to the Central Committee of the Party, it is said that the change of the Soviet ambassador in Warsaw opens a new period of coming to grips with the opposition. This is not because comrade Pilotovich did not do what he could in this area, but in order to carry out a qualitative change of policy in which the ostentatious interventions of the ambassador would be replaced by more discreet and more effective steps. This is, however, very difficult, since the ever more hopeless economic situation of the PRL and fear of irritating society basically paralyzes the leadership of the party. It is simply afraid of any movement whatsoever and is, properly speaking, ceasing to govern. It limits itself primarily to police actions blocking the activities of the opposition and to propaganda actions. The latter are particularly unsuccessful and, as in the case of the space flight of LTC Hermaszewski, they completely fail to address the expectations of society, which is more interested in what is happening on earth than in the Soviet cosmos.

A certain tension in the international situation and the unending economic breakdown in the country call forth, at the top of the PZPR, the first sign of splitting and changes. In the leading circles of the party the consequences of the international situation are being discussed lately. Although Western specialists have considered for a good several years that it is already too late for a Russian preventive war against China, in the PZPR either it is believed or announced for purposes of frightening its own apparatus, that exactly such a war is in the works. A second still more sensational view being announced, whether from conviction or in connection with its psychological effect on opinion, foresees the danger of a unification of Germany and a new Rapallo. The discussion between Brezhnev and



Strauss, hitherto presented in the PRL as the embodiment of the devil, made a great impression upon the leaders of the Warsaw center. Party propaganda, moreover, found itself in a proverbial jam over the German question, since it had hitherto based itself upon unceasing scare tactics using West German revisionism. Moreover, it continues to do so, counting rather naively on the eternal resentments of society, which just now are directed in the exact opposite direction. At the present time it is ever more difficult to make anti-German propaganda when Helmut Schmidt clearly differs from Carter, who is hated in the PRL. The Germans, after all, cannot be good for the USSR and bad for the PRL. In the face of this the spirit of Rapallo and the "threat" of the unification of Germany began to cause fears in the Central Committee. And here, as if to add irony, the Polish Independence Covenant [PPN] has just put out two documents with the thesis that the independence of Poland is linked with the unification of Germany. Propaganda gives this indirect opposition by, among other things, the pen of never-failing Ryszard Wojna in TRYBUNA LUDU, who puts out the unexpectedly "novel" thesis that our independence is endangered by the FRG and has prospects only thanks to the alliance with the USSR. But, after all, this is what was written 30 years ago; in the meantime friendship with the USSR has so often been solidified and strengthened that one is surprised by a return to the German bogey. This is understandable only in the context of the PPN documents, which have already found an echo in the FRG in the most representative weekly of that country, DIE ZEIT.

Propaganda is one matter, and politics another. In politics we are going full course in the direction of making ourselves permanently dependent on the USSR. The Russians had to help the PRL in the payment of credit installments and interest in foreign exchange; they immediately take compensation for this. The Polish shipbuilding industry is to work, practically speaking, only for their needs. It will be the same with many other sections of industry. It has been a long time since there were so many Soviet governmental visits in Warsaw. The visitors are especially the ministers of economic departments, with one of the Soviet gray eminences, Vice Premier Katushev, at their head. Feverish consultations continue within the framework of CEMA. The Gierek group is going ever further into Soviet economic slavery. Trade exchange within the framework of the camp, and especially with the Soviet Union, has already exceeded the hitherto rather substantial trade with the West. At this time the specialists of the PRL do not hide that the Gierek group, if it is to rule, annually needs 2 billion dollars of further loans from the West, mainly from the USA. In connection with this Gierek dreams of a reasonably rapid return visit to Carter in the USA, and his ambassador in Washington, Spasowski, strives rather frequently to see Professor Brzezinski, who is reviled in the press of the PRL.

The PRL already has a debt of over \$14 billion in the West. The banks are inclined to extend further credits, which are guaranteed by Western governments. The Western governments want that Poland be peaceful, so that they might have peace with Poland. In view of this, it looks like the PRL will get \$2 billion yearly for another 3 years. This, however, will solve

nothing. Jaroszewicz himself recently admitted in the Sejm that for the purchase of grain alone the PRL needs over a billion annually, or more than the income from the export of coal. If we add to this the burden of credit installments and interest and the constantly negative balance of trade of the PRL with the West, it becomes obvious that, even when the indebtedness of the PRL increases to \$20 billion, the economic state of the PRL will not undergo any great improvement. For this reason the West should treat realistically its further financial help to Gierek, securing it with conditions not only in the area of human rights but also pertaining to economic policy and to the eternally deficient group ruling in Poland. This is because only an immediate and far-going change in agricultural policy and indispensable reforms in industry, and not more or less obvious maneuvers and propaganda tricks, can change anything. Besides, hopes for this are decidedly decreasing, not increasing, which results equally from the growing political and economic dependence on the USSR and from the personal-political fluctuations in the top of the party which are tied to it.

In the West they often speak about the "Gierek group." Do these words still agree with reality? In an ever decreasing degree, without doubt. The Soviet system has its iron laws. Gierek is ever more "made a dummy" [robiony w konia], much like Gomulka was 10 years ago. And the bonehead does not even notice it, because behind-the-scenes Soviet-Polish elements are surrounding him with a constantly growing cult of the individual. Around him is created the atmosphere of the indispensable man and the father of the country, and he is given tasks which are beyond the strength of one man. Almost every day Gierek has a meeting in a different voivodship, in a different work establishment. In Warsaw he is weighed down with purposeless protocolary tasks, he is unceremoniously used to give and receive propaganda visits and meetings, and so many people without significance are sent to him that he can carry out his tasks only with difficulty, and he himself ever more often admits that he is unaware of many things going on in the country. In part this is an intrigue by behind-the-scenes Soviet officials and their proteges in the party, and in part it is the result of the operation of a bureaucratic system which becomes an end in itself. Although Gierek himself came up in this system, and has the reputation of an old slyboots, and not only of a wise man and the father of his nation, nevertheless, the mechanism of the system is stronger than he is, especially since the most trusted "Gierek group" is yielding to erosion, and there are ever more persons around the First Secretary who do not serve just one master. Properly speaking, the departure from the secretariat, first of Tejchma and then of Szydlak and Barcikowski signified a marked weakening of Gierek's position. In the meanwhile it has come to light that his formal deputy, Edward Babiuch, also from Silesia, plays a key role in the Party and one in large measure independent of Gierek. Jaroszewicz is getting old and he is terribly unpopular, and the role of overseer is taken ever more often by Babiuch. He has the reputation of being one of the least intelligent people in the leadership of the Party, but his position is decidedly rising, because he is the executor of the behind-the-scenes Soviet officials. Babiuch is, next to Jaroszewicz and Wrzaszczyk,

the one who bears primary responsibility for the irresponsible price rises in June 1976. Not a hair has fallen off of the heads of any of them because of this, and the three of them hang on to the reins of the party's economic policy, and do their own thing, which is to say that they are introducing draconian price rises by degrees, covertly, but very consistently. By a circuitous route they have already done no less than they wanted to do with one shot. They have thrown onto the back of society all the costs not only of Gierek's, but also of the Soviets' dynamic development, which means forced industrialization not for the needs of society but for the needs of the Soviets. These three people, together with Jagielski, Kisiel, and a few others, arbitrarily decide on the Polish economy, its cadres, and its priorities, etc. The CC secretary formally responsible for economic matters, Olszowski, is clearly on the sidelines, because the desire came into his head of giving his opinion about how bad things really are, which in the eyes of the Soviet experts was proof of uncommon naivete. Olszowski is, I suppose, isolated in the CC, which is his weakness, but simultaneously his strength, since theoretically he constitutes an alternative of some sort.

Besides Babiuch, on the other hand, famous Lukaszewicz, who has, I suppose, ideally sovietized propaganda; quiet Jaruzelski, son of the gentry, devoted to the Russians and having their trust; and inscrutable Kania, who watches over the security service and the Church, are on the crest of a large wave. We can foresee already today that these people will bring Gierek no smaller troubles than Jaroszewicz's and Wrzaszczyk's management of the economy and Babiuch's party policy. Lukaszewicz has estranged nearly the whole world of culture. His new Minister of Culture, Najdowski, in the past has had nothing in common with culture, while he has had everything in common with the apparatus. Truth to tell, it is said he is adroit. The situation of the party among the creators is tragic. An example are the state awards for Zukrowski and Osmanczyk--do the rulers really have no one other than them? Kania unexpectedly came to shine at the end of last year as the showy executor of the attempt to set the church against the democratic opposition, the author of Primate Wyszynski's visit with Gierek and Gierek's with the pope. This same Kania shortly afterwards began to rewarm the movement of "priest patriots," the most famous Stalinist instrument for breaking up the Church. This met with the rebuff of the bishops, whose resolution surprised the party. Kania has revealed himself in a dual role: Gierek's benefactor and a saboteur of his desire to get closer to the Church. Does the left hand not know what the right is doing? No, this is a case of a rather primitively manifested deceitfulness, a desire to show the Church the carrot and the stick. As usual, it was unsuccessful and very harmful to the party itself in the current tense social situation.

Gierek senses that there is something rotten in the state of Denmark and wants to strengthen his position. While Brezhnev lives he can count on this. But Gierek has no supporters. He wants to bring Zdzislaw Grudzien

from Katowice to Warsaw; first it said that he was to be a replacement for Lukaszewicz, then it was said that he was to be a replacement for Kowalczyk at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This is difficult to accomplish, however. The situation is bad both in Katowice and with the police. In Katowice, after the provocative affair, organized by Grudzien against Lukaszewicz or by Lukaszewicz against Grudzien, of the vice-voivod insulting the Writers' Congress, there was the successive affair of the voivod, who went over to the opposition, supposedly went crazy, and resigned for health reasons. In the police there are increasing manifestations of license, drunkenness, and violent acts. One hears about an ever greater number of beatings and about rather secret murders. The political police is unhappy with the role assigned to it by the party. The Party says that they have to learn to coexist with the opposition, while it tells the security service to limit the opposition. In view of this, the hatred of society for the militia and the security service is understandable. These services would like a definitive match with the opposition, but the party, being weak, cannot allow itself to do this in view of the continually growing economic difficulties. Jokesters are saying that the opposition is weak and the government still weaker, and there is some element of truth in this. We should turn our attention to one other exceptionally dangerous symptom. Together with the constant increase in the role of the police, which is unavoidable in a situation of permanent crisis in the country, police officials are exerting an ever greater influence on the judiciary. Appointments to higher judicial posts are received exclusively by people with links to the security service. The independence of the judiciary in the PRL was always a legend, but what the "Gierek group" is doing in this area is ever closer to the practices of the Stalinist period. A second manifestation of the stalinization of the administration of justice is the common practice of beating people up during investigations. News about this comes in from one after another corner of the country.

The continuing economic, social, and political crisis is upsetting the apparatus' authority and pressure upon society; it is slowly disintegrating the ruling group, and is making it ever more dependent on the Soviets. We should count on the processes of decomposition and the rivalry within the party to intensify in the one and one half years to the next party Congress. The rivalry is still hidden, especially in comparison with the uninhibitedness of the factional struggles in the '60s. The real game is going on among 12 to 20 persons in the Political Bureau and the CC Secretariat. In the wider apparatus, pressure groups, coteries and personal cliques, and powerful centers of political influence of the groups linked with the army and the police have formed. Moscow headquarters and the Soviet residents in Warsaw completely dominate this whole arrangement. But in Russia itself everything is, of course, under a question mark because of the inevitable departure of Leonid Tsarin.

At the moment, however, the impulses coming from the Moscow headquarters are very disturbing. What is dominant now is not a good natured "Brezhnev Doctrine," but the de facto restalinization of the system, which is visible

in economic instructions, in the domination of the police, in the imposition of an arch-schematic propaganda, in the instruction constantly to manifest love for the USSR, in the political sterilization of culture, and the omnipresence of the censorship everywhere. The difference between Poland and the "ideologically" advanced countries of the camp, that is to say, Russia, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR, is actually only one. In Poland, the party and the Soviets cannot decide upon locking people up for political reasons. This is, first, because they would have to lock up hundreds, if not a couple of thousand, people; second, because they would have to lock up those who are most outstanding, count for the most in public opinion, and are endowed with the greatest authority. This is because the opposition in Poland is not merely the dissidents and former party members, but everything which is best in our nation: writers, artists, scientists, priests, students, and also workers. The latter cannot organize themselves because of terror and control in their work establishments, of which the larger ones are watched directly by the CC and Ministry of Internal Affairs, but their attitudes are inevitably influenced by the economic difficulties and disorganization in the country, by the vague political situation, and finally by the corruption, rapacity, and cynical exploitation of power by the ruling groups, both in Warsaw and now in many voivodships.

The "Gierek team" will not last to the end of the '70s as it is currently constituted in terms of personnel, nor will Gierek accomplish in the decade of his rule the orderly settlement of the affairs of the country which he promised. Everything indicates that the cost to Poland of this decade will be losses which it will be difficult to make up in the next 10 years. The government of the "Gierek team," which is less and less his team and more and more a team directed from Russia, supports itself on the two classical pillars of totalitarianism: the police and propaganda. How long can they still ride these discredited horses? There is one reply: as long as this will be necessary to the currently governing team in Moscow and as long as society will stand it. We should not make light of this last factor of the situation. Gierek takes it at its full value, but being unable to make an opening toward society, he tries at least to cheat it or delude it, to throw dust in its eyes. Only in this and in no other way can we understand the assurances, repeated for 2 years, about production for the market, which in the existing economic situation is an illusion. The loud program of regulating the Wisla by the end of the century is announced with similar deceit. Who is to be made happy by this and where are the means for it? Yet another way of humbugging opinion is the famous slogan of the party: favor the family. It is intended to earn the gratitude of the ordinary people and to help Primate Wyszynski forget about the priest patriots from the progovernment Caritas organization. But everyone in Poland knows that the situation of the family in Poland is growing steadily worse, that women are tortured with difficulties in finding provisions, that the health of children is awful, that there is a lack of medicines, that the disorganization linked with the successive reform dominates in the schools, that the hospitals are in a state of complete catastrophe, that people commonly lie

in the corridors. In this situation hot air about the family rather angers people than cheers them; only facts, not words, could cheer them.

The facts, on the other hand, testify only to the constant restalinization of the system, which even admits to this indirectly by apotheosizing the first years of the PRL, the achievements of forced industrialization, and the history and people of the Union of Polish Youth, by putting up successive statues of Boleslaw Bierut, and by sending his otherwise humble son as ambassador to Bonn.

Astounding indeed is the deftness with which the people really directing the "Gierek team" saturate propaganda with nationalistic and patriotic phraseology, while simultaneously subjugating Polish culture, making the country dependent on Russia, and bringing in a Stalinist model with limited terror. Except that this cannot succeed, just as it broke down in the middle of the '50s. Frightening people with the reunification of Germany, and even with Rapallo, will not help. This is too well-known and too old a song, like the legend of the Union of Polish Youth ("We are the ZMP--we do not fear reaction"). The unification of Germany is beginning to become popular in the country, because people do not want restalinization and will not permit it. A new confrontation in Poland is unavoidable. It is only a question of time. Only may the price not be too high. We can only count on the self-preservation instinct of the ruling class, because we cannot, unfortunately, count on its national conscience.

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## ROMANIA

### RUSSIAN CRITICISM OF 1848 REVOLUTIONARIES RECALLED

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[Article by Prof Dr Nichita Adaniloaie: "Ideas of National Unity and Independence in the 1848 Revolutionaries' Thought and Action"]

[Text] National independence and unity have been major aims of our people over the centuries and especially in the modern period, after the collapse of the feudal system, the appearance of capitalist production relations, and the formation of the Romanian nation. And the struggle to defend our independence, unity and ancestral land has been a permanent feature of Romanian history.

Our people's ideas and hopes of unity, which were based upon their common origin, lineage and language, upon the continuity of their existence on the soil of ancient Dacia, and upon the many ties among the three Romanian lands, lent unprecedented strength to the common struggle against foreign invaders to preserve or regain our independence. The political and military unification of the three Romanian lands that was achieved in 1600 under Mihai Viteazu's reign was of short duration, but it was written in letters of gold in our nation's history, fostering the Romanian's feeling of kinship and solidarity and becoming a symbol and a challenge to all the generations to come.

After 1821 the ideas and desires for political independence and unit became more and more of a national movement. In the following decades the militant patriots made consistent efforts on many levels either to unite Moldavia and Wallachia in a single state "independent of Turkey" or to create a "Grand Duchy of Dacia," or to restore "a free and independent nation" to the entire Romanian people as the National Party under I. Cimpineanu planned in 1838.

In the fall of 1843 the militant Romanian patriots N. Balcescu, I. Ghica and Cristian Tell founded the secret society "Fratia" to direct all revolutionary efforts toward national and social liberation and to militate for a single national democratic and independent state. To operate effectively and to attract as many militants as possible, set up its legal organizations, namely the Literary Association of Romania in Bucharest, and in France the Society of Romanian Students in Paris. Under a legal, cultural cover of disseminating knowledge and encouraging Romanian writers everywhere, the Literary Association with its active collaborators in Moldavia and Transylvania served the clandestine

political purpose of working for national unity. In 1845 and 1846 it initiated the Minjina meetings of the Moldavian and Wallachian unionists. The press, literature and journals in the decade before the Pasoptist revolution also indicated by their content and even by their symbolic titles (ROMANIA, DACIA LITERARA, MAGAZIN ISTORIC PENTRU DACIA) that the purpose of the national movement was to restore ancient Dacia, that is to unite the Romanian people in one national, independent state.

All these actions proved conclusively that by the eve of the 1848 revolution national unity had become the political credo of the Romanian patriots both at home and studying abroad. The idea of national unity was fostered in various ways and on various occasions and both indirectly and openly expressed. Even the reports of the Austrian representatives anxiously noted the currency of the idea of "building Daco-Romania." Nicolae Balcescu clearly expressed the idea of unity in his program speech to the Romanian students in Paris on the night of the new year 1847. He said, "I think our goal can only be the national unity of the Romanians: unity first of ideas and feelings, which will lead in time to the political unity that will make Wallachians, Moldavians, Transylvanians and Banatians... one body, one Romanian nation and one state of 7 million Romanians. All our efforts must be concentrated upon formation of this nationality and upon a Romanian social reform on the sacred principles of justice and equality..." (1) This inaugurated the program of national and social emancipation which was to rally all the social forces for progress and bourgeois-democratic reforms and which was to characterize the 1848 revolution in the three Romanian lands in common by abolition of feudal relations, emancipation of the dependent peasants and their investment with land, political and legal equality of the citizens and, of course, national unity and independence.

After the intensive efforts of the intelligentsia and all progressives in the Romanian lands, it was natural for the problem of national unity to come to the fore once the 1848 revolution broke out, a revolution provoked by aggravation of foreign domination and of the crisis of feudalism. By creating a favorable atmosphere, the 1848 revolution opened the way for the widespread public struggle for our people's national unity and independence and consequently for the foundations of modern Romania.

Although the revolutionaries' major aim was to unite the three Romanian lands in one national and independent state with a modernized legislation, the Pasoptist revolutionaries could not categorically express it, and sometimes only partially included it, in their official programs because of the unfavorable foreign situation caused by the hostility of the neighboring absolutist empires. But unofficially, clandestinely or openly, the three Romanian lands' wish to unite was clearly expressed in the press, in correspondence, in the revolutionaries' public demonstrations, and in the participation of some of them in the revolutionary actions in the three Romanian lands.

National unity, union of the principalities, autonomy or even independence were major aims of the Romanian Pasoptist revolutionaries, depending on the particular historical conditions. Nicolae Balcescu pointed out that the "political circumstances" did not allow the Pasoptist revolutionaries in Wallachia "to include the question of national unity in their program from the start," but they



"did not for a moment forget their solidarity with all branches of the Romanian nation. They defended and fought for the rights of Moldavia just as they did for those of Wallachia... they constantly defended... the rights of the Romanians in Transylvania, the Banat and Hungary..." (2)

Plans for joint action were discussed both between the Moldavian and Wallachian revolutionaries and between the Wallachian and Transylvanian ones. Thus in March 1848 the Moldavian and Wallachian revolutionaries who were in Paris (N. Balcescu, A. G. Golescu-Negru, D. Bolintieanu, C. Mavrodin, Vasile Malinescu, Iancu Alecsandri, I. Leca, Teodor Rascanu et al.) jointly discussed the program and synchronization of the actions in the principalities as well as possible collaboration with Polish and Hungarian revolutionaries. N. Balcescu suggested that the Romanian revolutionaries assemble in Wallachia, begin the action with united forces and then, once the revolution was started, all cross into Moldavia and deploy it there too. But the Moldavians' opinion prevailed, to the effect that "the movement should be simultaneous" and each should return from France "to his principality" to join the revolution. But the historical conditions were different, and the revolution could not break out simultaneously or to the same extent in Moldavia and in Wallachia.

Upon N. Balcescu's return from Paris, the revolutionary committee in Bucharest met on 9 April 1848 to prepare for the onset of the uprising. At this meeting it was proposed to recruit men in Transylvania to cross over the mountains into Wallachia, and thereupon D. Bratianu as well as some of the Transylvanian intellectuals who had come to Wallachia (August Treboniu Laurian, Axente Sever, Constantin Roman et al.) left for Transylvania to reach an agreement with the revolutionaries there. Balcescu himself intended to go to Transylvania to attend the Blaj Assembly, but he as well as the Transylvanians in Bucharest were denied their passports. Therefore he advised them to cross the border surreptitiously. Some revolutionary leaders (Maj Christian Tell and Capt N. Plesoianu) said the outbreak of the revolution in Wallachia was postponed until the return of those who went to Blaj.

The Romanian revolutionaries realized that national independence and unity were attainable in 1848 if the wave of European revolution also engulfed the Ottoman and Czarist empires. Since it did not, the first steps of the Romanian revolution were quite circumspect as regards the Ottoman Porte and the Russian Empire in order to avoid any decisive confrontation with them. In this situation, the various historical conditions and the tactical considerations led to the separate development of the revolution in each of the three Romanian lands. And also to avoid foreign intervention or interference, certain limits were set especially in formulating the national aims in the official programs of the revolution. For example, fear of intervention by the Russian army, concentrated only 30 km away, led the Moldavian revolutionaries attending the Iasi Assembly of 27 March 1848 to mention observance of the Organic Regulation and to exclude both independence and national unity from the demands, although these problems had been brought up at this assembly, in the famous Proclamation-Petition.

The Moldavian revolutionaries, driven out by the repressions of Prince Mihail Sturdza, found refuge in Transylvania and Bucovina. There they met with the ones coming from Paris, who had been barred from entering Moldavia, and jointly

drafted new programs giving priority to unification and independence of the principalities. Some of them (Al. I. Cuza, C. Negri, Gh. Sion, N. Ionescu, P. Cazimir, Teodor Moldovanu, Alecu Russo, Lascar Rosetti et al.) were to attend the Blaj National Assembly of 3 May, and the last two were to take part in the assembly of Banat revolutionaries meeting at Lugoj on 15 June and chaired by Eftimie Murgu.

The Romanian revolutionaries in Transylvania met on 3 May 1848 on the Cimpia Libertatii at Blaj and proclaimed the Romanian nation "an independent nation and a complementary part of Transylvania on the basis of equal freedom." In his famous speech in Blaj Cathedral on the eve of the assembly Simion Barnutiu pointed out that the Romanian people, while proclaiming the freedom and independence of the Romanian nation, must be constituted and organized as a free and independent nation." (3) The first demand in the National Petition approved by the Blaj National Assembly was "national independence" for the Romanian nation, and it was also demanded "that the Romanian nation have its representatives" in the Transylvanian Diet "in proportion to its numbers, that it have its officials in all branches of the administration, the courts and the military in the same proportion, and that it use its language in all matters pertaining to it, both legislative and administrative." (4)

The 40,000 Romanian peasants assembled on the field at Blaj expressed their desire to unite with their brothers across the Carpathians by the fervent cry "We wish to be united with our country," as a splendid assertion of their national consciousness. The idea of founding an independent Dacia comprising the three Romanian lands was also expressed at Blaj because, as N. Balcescu said, the slogan "Liberation from any foreign domination through national unity" was written "at the bottom of every Romanian's heart." (5) The newspapers and other sources of the time noted that the Pasoptist revolutionaries were disseminating "open propaganda" to do away with foreign domination and to "restore Dacia." (6)

The Moldavian revolutionaries, who had attended the Blaj Assembly and taken new moral courage from it, then proceeded to Brasov, where they met with other exiled compatriots and discussed and drafted a new combat program on 12 May that was more advanced than the Proclamation-Petition of Iasi. This new program, entitled "Our Principles of National Reform," demanded "the union of Moldavia and Wallachia in a single independent Romanian state." A number of radical principles were also advanced that would lead to an independent national state governed by a bourgeois-democratic regime. This program, which amounted to a kind of secret revolutionary pact, was signed by 14 Moldavian patriots including Costache Negri, Alecu Russo, Vasile and Iancu Alecsandri, Zaharia Moldovan, Gh. Sion, Nicolae Ionescu, Manolache Costachi Epureanu et al.

The group of Moldavian patriots moved from Brasov into Bucovina, to Cernauti where, jointly with other refugees from Moldavia, they formed a revolutionary committee to collaborate with those still in Iasi and with the militants in Wallachia on some new revolutionary actions. On 18 July 1848 the revolutionary committee in Cernauti wrote the one in Iasi that inasmuch as "the brothers beyond Milcov" had begun to fight for "national independence" and Transylvanians had declared they would aid the principalities, decisive action was necessary for the rescue of Moldavia and "for the future happiness of all Romania." The

committee also proposed a retreat into the mountains to establish a military center there with forces recruited from Moldavia, Transylvania, the Banat and Wallachia, because "Romania's independence now depends upon the courage and patriotism" of the revolutionaries. (7)

At the behest of the revolutionary committee, Mihail Kogalniceanu prepared and published the new revolutionary program entitled "Objectives of the National Party in Moldavia" in August 1848 in Cernauti. Its first demand was "administrative independence in all internal affairs with no foreign power's interference." And after listing the basic demands of the national movement and the need of modernizing and developing the nation on the path of progress, the National Party further proposed as a culmination of all the reforms in the program "Unification of Moldavia with Wallachia," regarded as "the keystone without which the whole national edifice would collapse." Kogalniceanu called it "a union desired for centuries by all the most distinguished Romanians of both principalities, a union that Stefan the Great and Mihail Viteazul, who came to be titled 'By Grace of God Lord of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania,' wished to accomplish by force of arms in the spirit of the times. The prejudices of the times and foreign intrigues have so far blocked this union. But today the circumstances are more favorable for us to achieve what our ancestors could only hope for." Kogalniceanu also pointed out that the union "is just as clearly indicated by a common origin, language, customs and interests." (8)

The revolutionaries in Wallachia omitted the problem of national independence and unity from the Islaz Program in order to avoid foreign military intervention, although they too had declared -- before the Moldavians in fact -- that the Romanians "are a nation of more than 8 million souls, and every one of them will know how to defend his home from any foreign invasion that threatens their freedoms." Yet they included the nation's "administrative and legislative independence, on the basis of the treaties of Mircea and Vlad V, and noninterference of any foreign power"\* (9) This, like the demand of the Transylvanians and Moldavians, was a categorical self-assertion of the Romanian people and a step toward their national independence.

In the days of the revolution this legitimate demand for national freedom and unity was publicly supported by many articles in the Bucharest press. PRUNCUL ROMAN, a newspaper managed by C. A. Rosetti, after advocating the union of Moldavia and Wallachia to form "one Romania" in several of its June issues, described on 13 July the union of the principalities as a prerequisite for their emancipation from foreign domination and for their independence. PRUNCUL ROMAN said, "If Romania is to be entirely free, great and strong it must unquestionably unite with Moldavia. Moldavians and Wallachians are but a single nation ... a single body... All Romania, this great family of brothers.... can become strong only through unification. Through unification alone shall we form a great state" which will not fear "any foreign power and which will rank among the other free states." After bringing out the material advantages of the union, the article closed with another appeal to the Moldavians to form "one state, one nation, one free, great and strong Romania." On 19 June the first issue of POPORUL SUVERAN, managed by D. Bolinteanu, announced that this newspaper would

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\*In the very first paragraph of the Islaz Proclamation.

serve the purpose of "unification of the Romanian provinces and all that can lead Romania to prosperity and greatness." The newspaper KONSTITUTIONALUL for 8 July promoted the idea that "All the lands inhabited by Romanians should be commonly called Romania and comprise one state, because they are all the fatherland of the Romanians and because all the Romanian patriots dwelling in them comprise the Romanian nation, which must be one and undivided."

Right after the Wallachian revolutionaries published these appeals for unification the Moldavian revolutionaries who had fled to Bucovina also expressed, via Vasile Alecsandri's pen, their ardent wish to be united with their brothers beyond Milcov.

The cause of Romanian unity and independence was tirelessly pursued not only in newspapers, manifestoes, correspondence and memoranda but also in diplomatic actions, which were intended to induce the Ottoman Porte to accept the revolutionary regime and the union of the principalities and also to internationalize the Romanian problem. Thus Ion Ghica, the Wallachian revolutionary government's envoy to Constantinople, discussed the union of the two principalities there and reported on 22 July that he had found some Ottoman officials in favor of it. He thought a joint appeal to the Porte by the Moldavians and Wallachians would be certain of success. The Wallachian delegation sent to Constantinople in August 1848 to obtain the Porte's recognition of the revolutionary regime tried but failed to secure the union of the principalities. A. G. Golescu-Negru tried to win the French government's support of the union, and Ion Maiorescu as plenipotentiary of the Wallachian revolutionary government attached to the German parliament in Frankfurt tried to convince his interlocutors, even after the suppression of the movement in Bucharest, of the necessity of forming a Romanian kingdom of all Dacia under Germany's protection.

By diplomatic means and later by military ones, Czarist Russia opposed the attempts of the Pasoptist revolutionaries to form an independent national state. In a note on 19 July 1848 the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs condemned the Romanian revolutionaries because they were trying to "unite the two principalities in a single state without any contact with Russia or the Ottoman Porte." It was pointed out in the note that if this plan was allowed to go through it would have serious consequences for the Porte because it would lead the Bulgarians, Rumelians and other races composing the Ottoman Empire to lay "claims to emancipation and.... formation of a separate state for each one." (10) Czarist Russia sent troops first into Moldavia and then into Wallachia to repress the revolution and pressured the Porte to also expedite armed intervention in the principalities. The Ottoman Porte in its turn, not being greatly interested in intervening in Wallachia, dismissed Soliman Pasha, who had recognized the revolutionary regime in Bucharest, and placed Fuad Efendi in charge of the Turkish troops on the Danube with the express mission of repressing the uprising. Fuad Efendi proceeded to Bucharest with the Ottoman army, arrested the leaders of the revolution, and brutally crushed the heroic resistance of the Firemen in Dealul Spirii.

The 1848 revolution was suppressed in the principalities by the intervention of the foreign reactionary forces, but it went on for nearly 11 months in Transylvania. During this time an extensive area of the Apuseni Mountains was

militarily organized and administrated as a true Romanian country. But in the beginning of 1849 several Transylvanian, Bucovinian and Banatian militants, with some urging by N. Balcescu, drafted a memorandum to Emperor Franz Josef requesting "unification of all Romanians in the Austrian Empire" in one independent nation under the suzerainty of the Viennese court, with a chief, assemblies and a Romanian national administration. In the stage when the revolution was about to be crushed in Transylvania too, the Pasoptist fighters regarded unification of the Romanians in the Austrian Empire in a distinct national body within the monarchy as a means of consolidating the Romanian nationality and a step toward an independent Romanian state. But this Romanian state within the Habsburg monarchy could not be achieved, although the Emperor, frightened by the revolution, favored it at the start.

After the revolution was suppressed the Pasoptist leaders had to emigrate abroad and carried on their struggle for national independence and unity. The journals they published in the French capital, such as ROMANIA VIITOARE (1850), JUNIMEA ROMANA (1851), and REPUBLICA ROMANA (1851), were true tribunes of the struggle to form and organize the Romanian national state.

On 4 March 1850 N. Balcescu wrote A. G. Golescu from Paris that the Romanian people had to fight two more revolutions, one for national unity and another later on for national independence, and that in this way the nation "would recover full possession of its natural rights." He mentioned that the union of Moldavia and Wallachia "cannot be accomplished immediately," but "the Romanians in Austria... all insistently demand to be constituted in a single nation of three and a half million." When these "two great groups of four million and three and a half million Romanians are established alongside each other, who will be able to stop them from uniting? Therefore our Romania will exist. Anyone who does not see it is blind... I do not think we have long to wait and endure." (11) Thus the great democratic revolutionary expressed his conviction, and the future was to bear out his predictions in the memorable years of 1859, 1877 and 1918, even if the means of achieving them were somewhat different.

The lessons of the revolution taught the Romanian patriots to clarify their ideas and to choose the most effective ways of achieving political unity, or the Romanian national state. The union of the principalities in 1859, the acquisition of independence in 1877, and the completion of the unity of the Romanian national state in 1918 are critical points in our modern history that have their roots in the plans of the Pasoptist revolution and for which the Romanian people, inspired by the great ideals of social justice, freedom and national unity, fought heroically for decades on end.

In his address to the people's assembly organized in Bucharest on the 130th anniversary of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1848 and the 30th anniversary of the nationalization of the main production means, Nicolae Ceausescu said that "The 1848 revolution began the era of the great revolutionary national and social changes in Romania, of the bourgeois-democratic reforms, and of the fulfillment of the Romanian people's age-old aspirations to a free life and self-determination."

Under the new historical conditions of today the Romanian people are celebrating the 130th anniversary of the outbreak of the Pasoptist revolution, enhancing

the traditions of the struggle for social progress, unity and national independence and paying pious homage to the memory of our ancestors who laid down their lives for the triumph of these great ideals.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Collected Texts for Romanian History" (corrected by Acad Stefan Pascu and Liviu Maior), Vol I, Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, 1977, p 165.
2. N. Balcescu, "Works," Vol I, "Studies and Articles," Academy Publishing House, 1953, p 335.
3. In reference to the orator's attitude, Baron Perenyi wrote to the Hungarian minister Szemere on 3 June 1848 that Barmutiu and other Romanians "are fostering aspirations to the formation of an independent Romanian state."
4. "Collected Texts for Romanian History," pp 180-181.
5. N. Balcescu, op. cit., p 332.
6. ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, Augsburg, 12 May and 22 June 1848.
7. Teodor Balan, "Activity of Moldavian Refugees in Bucovina, 1848," Sibiu, 1944, pp 81-83.
8. "The Year 1848 in the Romanian Principalities. Acts and Documents," Vol IV, Bucharest, 1903, p 97, 109-110 and 134.
9. Ibidem, Vol I, pp 495 and 500.
10. "The Year 1848 in the Romanian Principalities....," Vol II, pp 609-610.
11. N. Balcescu, "Works," Vol IV, "Correspondence" (G. Zane's Critical Edition), Academy Publishing House, 1964, pp 277-278.

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GENETICS CITED AS ANSWER TO MYSTICISM, IDEALISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 78 pp 16-18

[Article by Dr Serban Sichitiu: "Current Genetic Achievements, Arguments Against New Religious and Idealistic Interpretations"]

[Excerpts] Genetics integrates the evolutionist theory of the species, supplementing it, successfully, with the theory of mutations and with evidence on the universality of life and its continuity. Thus situating itself in the center of the biological front and strongly driving the limits of knowledge toward new horizons, genetics has simultaneously forced the representatives of idealism to re-examine their actions and to review the content of their own concepts. Thus, we are witness at present to subtle maneuvers, to the proliferation of new vitalistic, creationistic and psycho-Lamarckian theories, theories which, by using new terms and utilizing either the confusions of the period of the adolescence of genetics or descriptions from the "holy books" which are supposed to have foretold the present discoveries, or by accepting materialistic concepts fragmentarily but ultimately arriving at fideistic conclusions, attempt to put up an "honorable" resistance.

It should be noted that present-day idealism operates in two principal aspects: on the one hand, by nurturing irrational, mystical faith and on the other hand by stimulating so-called lucid belief.\* In the first case by utilizing the naive mysticism of creation and divine origin, combined with a subconscious fear of death, illness and catastrophe, an audience is obtained, especially in those zones where obscurantism or lack of culture are still present. This is one of the explanations for the current proliferation of numerous religious sects with their "prophets" or "apostles," the great majority of whom are animated by material interests.

However, the principal effort of the present-day idealism is the cultivation of lucid faith. Its strategy consists of maintaining, at any price, the

\* I. Peatnitchi, "Determinismul in genetica si fideismul contemporan" [Determinism in Genetics and Contemporary Fideism), Editura Politica, 1975, p 8.

final religious substratum, that is, the thesis of creation and of phenomenological indeterminism, while abandoning "naive mysticism" or the purity of religious dogma and using an intellectual arsenal adapted to the new problematics. For example, the theory of "Christian evolutionism" of the theologian Teilhard de Chardin is much more logical than "clerical anti-evolutionism," but in the end it comes to the conclusion that evolution is the result of a "spiritual cosmic force." The theory of "biological indeterminism" aims at the denial of the principle of causality in the transmittal of hereditary traits. Thus, the biologist J. Huxley requires liberation from "the obsession of causal determinism" in explaining the phenomenology of chance mutations.

Although the "indeterminist" theses have been effectively combatted, there were sometimes exaggerations in the responses given. This was the case with Lysenko and his school which labelled "indeterminist" a scientifically-based theory such as that of Moraan. This exaggeration had a detrimental effect, hindering the development of genetics in various countries.

Other modern idealistic currents are found in the realm of psychology. Indeed, in this field knowledge is just at its beginning. Although memory, it is known today, has a material basis as a result of chains of DNA [deoxy-ribose nucleic acid], the majority of normal or pathological psychic processes are still insufficiently known from a scientific point of view. The certain existence of some forms of neuropsychic energy, still not decoded, which are at the basis of telepathy, hynotism or other manifestations generically called "parapsychic" constitutes at present the terrain for a variety of experiments in mystical interpretation.

In reference to this mosaic of further adoptions of idealistic positions, the experiments with recombinant DNA have made an important contribution to the materialist concept of the world and life.

From the earliest times, the different religions have imposed upon men mystical explanations about the origin of the world and of life. The myth of death and of the worlds beyond, the symbols of Orpheus or Faust which dominate numerous literary, folklore or religious works, actually represent the mystic fear of the individual and his ardent desire to perpetuate his own "ego" sine die.

Genetic engineering, far from being the elixir of "life without death and youth without old age," brings to philosophy the most eloquent materialistic proof that life, the spirit, and death are forms of existence of matter, having as a basis DNA and RNA [ribose nucleic acid] plus proteins, that is, macromolecular structures with dynamic cycles, which create energy and mass--cycles which are resumed to infinity.



YUGOSLAVIA

NEW BULGARIAN 'PROOF' OF BULGARIAN NATURE OF MACEDONIA

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Sep 78 p 4

[Article by NOVA MAKEDONIJA Sofia Correspondent Filip Simonovski: "A New Anti-Macedonian Book of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Sep--The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is beginning to publish long publicized "documents" concerning the Bulgarian nature of Macedonia. The first book, which contains about 600 texts of this type, carries the title: "Macedonia--A Collection of Documents and Materials" and will be put on public sale during the middle of next month. In actuality, the greater part of the printings have already been made but have not appeared in bookstores. Rather, as it is being said, the printings have been distributed according to a list of specific organs and persons. Some copies, namely those in French, English, and Bulgarian, can be seen these days at the International Book Fair, which is being held in Sofia and these are their first public displays.

The Sofia press, however, is already beginning to publish reviews of this the academy's latest Great Bulgaria promotion. According to these texts, the publication of this book was an act of "great current scientific sociopolitical appropriateness." If this is really so, and observers here do not doubt it, there can only be one conclusion--that even in today's Bulgaria, the concept of a Great Bulgaria is a theme of current political appropriateness. Actually, if such were not the case, there wouldn't be enough people of titled credentials to assert, as they do in the latest book, that the population in Macedonia is an indivisible part of the Bulgarian nation, that they felt themselves to be Bulgarians and fought for freedom and liberty as Bulgarians, and that they spoke the Bulgarian language.

The documents we are talking about are divided into four parts in which the "proof" of the Bulgarian character of Macedonia is completed up to 1940. Obviously the authors did not dare to expose the wartime years, because if they did they would have to explain the unbelievable paradox of how the very people who they say have always felt themselves to be an indivisible part of the Bulgarian nation took up arms against this very same Bulgaria.

For this reason, the war years are an unpleasant period for Bulgarian historiographers, and if they were able, they would erase this period with great satisfaction. Thus, because of the emergence of this latest anti-Macedonian book, observers in Bulgaria state that it is not difficult from now on to attribute one or another statement to dead people in order to present it as an "inviolable historical truth." And this, it is said there, holds true even for such personalities such as, let us say, Georgi Dimitrov.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

DJURANOVIC RECEIVES AMBASSADORS--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, yesterday received in separate farewell visits Adil Jarah, Kuwaiti ambassador to the SFRY, and Count Axel Lewenhaupt, Swedish ambassador to Yugoslavia. On the same day, Veselin Djuranovic received Hikmet Ozkan, newly appointed Turkish ambassador to the SFRY. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Sep 78 p 4 AU]

AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR--Belgrade--Bogdan Crnobrnja, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, has received the Australian ambassador in the SFRY, Barrie G. Dexter and embassy counsellor Campbell. During the talks reference was made to the activity of the extreme terrorist organization in particular in Australia and an exchange of views made on the state of economic relations between the two countries. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 22 Sep 78 LD]

AMBASSADOR TO PORTUGAL--Belgrade--Aleksandar Manetovic, hitherto head of administration in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, has been appointed SFRY ambassador to the Republic of Portugal. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 25 Sep 78 LD]

RETURN FROM PEKING--Belgrade, September 26 (TANJUG)--A Delegation of the Council of the Academies of Sciences and Arts of Yugoslavia, headed by Chairman of the Council Mihajlo Apostolski, returned to Belgrade from Peking today. The delegation was on a ten-day visit to the Chinese Academy of Sciences. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1719 GMT 26 Sep 78 LD]

LAMBE MIHAJLOVSKI RECEIVES OFFICERS--On 19 September 1978, Lt Col Gen Lambe Mihajlovski, Commander of the Skopje Military District, received young commissioned and noncommissioned officers, who had recently reported for duty in this military district after completion of training. During the same day, the new officers went sightseeing in Skopje, and visited the "11 Oktomvri" Bus Factory, and "Sveti Spas" Church, where they rendered honors before the grave of Goce Delcev, the ideologist and military strategist of the Ilinden Uprising. [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Sep 78 p 3]

AMBASSADOR VISITS UKRAINE--Moscow--Joze Smole, Yugoslav ambassador to the USSR, has visited the Ukraine. He was received by A. Vatchenko, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and member of the Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party. In a lengthy, friendly conversation they discussed questions of the further promotion of Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation. Special attention was paid to cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the Ukrainian SSR. Ambassador Smole visited several institutions in Kiev. Slavko Aleksic, Yugoslav consul general in Kiev, gave a reception in connection with the ambassador's visit. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 24 Sep 78 LD]

DELEGATION TO MOSCOW--Belgrade--A Yugoslav trade delegation left for Moscow tonight to attend a session of the Yugoslav-Soviet Mixed Commission for Commodity Exchange. The delegation is led by Filip Babic, assistant federal secretary of foreign trade. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1942 GMT 24 Sep 78 LD]

TANZANIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS--Belgrade--A Tanzanian parliamentary delegation led by the national assembly speaker, Adam Sapi Mkwawa, arrived in our country tonight on a visit that will last several days. This visit by the parliamentarians will be a new contribution to the deepening and promotion of the fruitful cooperation between the two nonaligned countries. At Beograd airport the parliamentarians from nonaligned Tanzania were welcomed and greeted by Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Jose Bozic, chairman of the Committee for Internal Policy of the Federal Chamber; Milan Veres, assistant federal secretary of foreign affairs, and other personalities. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1801 GMT 24 Sep 78 LD]

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